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throw back the process of colonial liberation. It has not accepted the judgment of history that the era of colonialism has come to its end. Secondly, it has not drawn the necessary conclusions from the present world balance of forces. It is not a free agent. Its policy of aggression, if continued, will come into head-on conflict with a superior force--the combined legions of anti-imperialism.

Thus its policies are based on myths of the past. And policies based on myths inevitably come to an ignominious end on the rocks of present-day realities. The question is: How much death and destruction will it inflict before it is compelled to accept these realities? This is what the world ponders.

Roots of Imperialist Aggression

The warlike posture of imperialism is rooted in a built-in, inherent characteristic, one which will not change even when all the colonies are freed. Imperialism will continue to be on the prowl, seeking for weak spots. To its last day it will go on seeking ways to reestablish its rule over the world. But as the balance of forces shifts, its chances of even temporary victories will progressively diminish and finally disappear completely.

In addition to this built-in characteristic, there are some specific developments that at this moment influence the activities of U.S. imperialism. After World War II it expanded its operations almost at will, and it has become economically geared to a never-ending process of expansion. But in some parts of the world the pathways of that expansion have become narrowed or closed, thanks to the growing resistance of the anti-imperialist forces and the mounting competition from the capitalists of other countries. The easy pickings are disappearing, and this at a time when unprecedented profits both at home and abroad have resulted in unprecedented accumulations of idle capital with no place to go. And with each dollar of unused capital, the pressure for imperialist expansion grows.

For example, in 1963 General Motors assigned \$1.2 billion for expansion. But how long can such huge appropriations continue to be used for domestic expansion, especially when the sole motive for expansion is maximum profits? This unused capital could be the main source of the billions needed to fight poverty, but not thus used it becomes the source of pressure for imperialist aggression.

When U.S. spokesmen talk about our national interests in other parts of the world, they are talking about the ability of a General Motors to invest its loot profitably. For this they want corrupt puppet governments which will give them a free hand to use up national resources, to keep wages low and hours long, and to escape taxation. To put such governments into power or to keep them there--this is the function of the CIA, the Seventh Fleet, the Alliance for Progress, the foreign aid program, and other such instruments.

This is the combination that has operated to install U.S. imperialism in countries like Iran. It is operating right now in the same way in Indo-China, the Congo and Latin America. And these intriguers have not given up even in those countries in which they have been rebuffed. The covers for these operations vary, but the purpose is the same. A trade union delegation from the United States "visits", and its members slip millions to corrupt some leader. Or, to avert sus-

picion, delegations may go in the name of another nation. The CIA and the State Department uses entertainers, sports figures, women, national group figures, Negro Americans, business people, and individuals with a socialist or radical background. All this is to provide a cover for the dirty business of imperialist corruption--to prepare the groundwork for the penetration of U.S. corporations;

In this period of victorious national liberation revolutions, the actions of U.S. imperialism take on special significance in the nature of counter-revolution. The escalation in Indo China is an attempt to extricate a policy of aggression, that is on the brink of total defeat, because the forces of national liberation are within reach of total victory.

The revolution of colonial liberation will continue along the path of victory. And if the present course of U.S. policy continues, it will clash with the forces of progress who are lined up with the forces of colonial liberation revolution. It is this that explains why without exception the U.S. forces are always and in every country lined up with the reactionary forces of counter-revolution. How could it be otherwise?

Finally, there is another specific factor that has entered into the calculations of U.S. imperialism in its escalation of the war against Vietnam. This is the division within the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces in general and the socialist countries in particular. U.S. imperialism is geared to take advantage of any divisions or weaknesses resulting from wrong policies within the socialist camp.

The cleavage between China and India, the conflict between India and Pakistan are weighed in these calculations. The division within the socialist camp, and the conflict in the world Communist movement weighs especially heavily on the scales. It seems to me the Communist world will have to draw some long-range basic ideological as well as practical lessons from this crisis.

Because whatever the specific reasons, it is a fact that because of these divisions, U.S. imperialism has been able to escalate the war without meeting the total united resistance of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. This is a setback. This remains a serious problem. But this is also an area in which imperialism can make its biggest miscalculation. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair. The pressures of reality, the hammer blows of struggle, will weld a new unity in the anti-imperialist camp. In fact, this new unity is beginning to be welded now. The processes of reunification have set in. The factors that have worked toward disunity have begun to recede into the background.

Though, U.S. imperialism has at its disposal the greatest facilities, the largest staff, the mightiest armed forces of any imperialist power in history, it is still not strong enough. It is not powerful enough to turn back the wheels of history, to stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world. Policies of imperialist aggression are against the grain of history.

To conclude on this, it is clear that a new stage is opening up in the struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialism. There are new dangers, but the main thing

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that stands out is the upsurge, the new people's movement to save the United States from its present path of no return.

For us, the struggle for policies of peaceful coexistence now shifts sharply to the struggle against the acts of aggression by U.S. imperialism. We must sense the new mass base that has emerged for this struggle. And we must understand that it is now much easier to bring the essence, the understanding of anti-imperialism into the mass movements, into the trade unions, into the civil rights movement, and especially into the peace movement.

This calls for the organization of centers of anti-imperialist propaganda and education. Our literature and speeches must reflect this new stage of struggle. The Party itself must have special committees for its own anti-imperialist activities. Anti-imperialism can now begin to take its place along with other mass currents for civil rights, democracy and peace.

Anti-imperialist need not be a divisive factor in the mass movements unless its acceptance is made a condition for all who want to unite for peace. The movement against the war policy will continue to grow if all the forces on all levels of understanding remain united in their actions. And as the struggles develop, increasing numbers will get a deeper insight and so will accept the conscious anti-imperialist position.

III. ROLE OF THE STATE

I have deliberately dealt with the activities of U.S. imperialism in general separately from the evolution of the Johnson Administration or the differences within the ranks of monopoly capital. It is correct to appraise this administration or any other within the framework of U.S. imperialism. But it would be a mistake to deal with them as if they were one and the same thing. This mistake is made very often, and it weakens the struggle against imperialism. The source of imperialism is not the governmental structure but monopoly capitalism. The policies of imperialism are in the first place policies of the giant monopoly corporations which are in the business of foreign investment.

There are important forces within the ranks of monopoly capital who are against the present policy in Vietnam, although these too want to cover up the roots of imperialism. We must expose the roots--the class, monopoly base of imperialism. And we must show, in that context, the role of a given administration as the instrument and servant of these imperialist forces.

Once these class roots are exposed, the struggle against imperialism will be on a more solid foundation. Failure to do this is one reason for the inadequacy of understanding and opposition to U.S. imperialism in the past. Because its governmental and military arms have not always been openly used, masses have been led to believe that the United States is not an imperialist country. The apologists for U.S. imperialism have pointed to the lack of open U.S. governmental aggression as proof that U.S. policies are not imperialist.

Along with the growth of U.S. imperialism, there has developed a government structure of departments and bureaus set up solely to serve these private corporate

imperialist ventures. Typical of these is the CIA. The Pentagon likewise serves this purpose. When there are no actual problems of national defense, military units like the Seventh Fleet, the Marine Corps and others are beefed up solely toward this end. The military training programs, the nature of military units have been geared to fighting popular national liberation movements.

There are federal banks and financial institutions established for the same purpose. These use American taxpayers' dollars to protect the foreign property and profits of the monopolist swindlers. The foreign aid program has the same function, as do most government contracts and subsidies. This is the main purpose of the National Security Council, which should more properly be called the "U.S. Imperialist Security Council." Thus, the governmental structure has a system of departments of imperialism.

It is now an accepted practice to staff these special departments with direct representatives of the corporations for whose benefit their government authority is to be used. The heads of these departments are very often in closer touch with the private imperialist combines than with the government. As a rule they are appointed, so there is no public control over them. Where there are no departments, there are special presidential advisers like McGeorge Bundy. The heads of these departments and these advisers make up the extra-legal "invisible government."

This is a body with alarming powers. The people have no power over it. Congress has no power over it. Its activities are secrets to the people and to Congress, and yet it has the power to instigate wars, to overthrow governments. This invisible government has usurped the authority of the Cabinets. As a governmental body the Cabinet plays no role. The emergence of this secretive, extra-legal, behind-the-scenes center of political power, closely linked to the centers of financial-industrial combines, and all interlinked with the military forces of the Pentagon and the CIA and FBI presents the most serious threat to the whole democratic structure. It is this section of the government that is most directly controlled by the imperialist corporations. It is also the section which has grown the fastest.

This must be understood as a background for understanding the role of the Johnson Administration. For at this moment the one outstanding feature is that the most warlike forces of the "invisible government" have for the time being become the dominant force in determining foreign policy. They are for the moment in control of the Executive power on foreign policy, and they are in control because President Johnson has elevated them to their present positions of power.

These forces have had a growing influence within past administrations. There have been previous occasions when they have been momentarily dominant, though most of the time they have been balanced off by saner elements. But at this moment they call the foreign policy shots. They are the criminal architects of the aggression that now endangers the peace of the world.

Yet, for all their influence on the Administration, they are on very thin ice. They are advancing a policy that is very widely condemned and is not supported by the people of the United States. In fact, the Johnsons, the Bundys, the McNamaras and the Taylors are dangerous precisely because they are so out of contact with reality.

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There are other forces within and around the Administration which do not agree with the policy of aggression. The opposition on this level is expressed by such newspapers as the New York Times, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Knight chain and others. It is expressed by such columnists as Walter Lippmann. And it is expressed in one way or another by one-third of the U.S. Senate, including such men as Morse, Fulbright, Gruening, Mansfield and Aiken, and by a sizeable bloc of Congressmen.

This opposition, which represents a difference in tactics, is in turn a reflection of divisions in the ranks of U.S. capitalism. Among the big capitalists who opposed Goldwater in the 1964 elections, there is a significant number who did so because they were against escalation in Vietnam. There are also important sections of big business which, in the face of sharpening competition with West European and Japanese capital, are pressing for the opening up of trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and which find the Administration policy in Vietnam an obstacle to this.

Such opposition is particularly important because it coincides with the more basic anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments among the American people. The present aggressive war policy is under growing pressure from those holding a position which offers the only realistic basis for the defense of U.S. capitalist interests, whereas the Administration policy leads to a dead end. These divisions can only add to our confidence in the possibility of turning the present tide of imperialist aggression.

In this, too, lies the continuing distinction between the Administration and the ultra-Right. True, Johnson has adopted a reactionary foreign policy which, if it is persisted in, will lead to the full position of the ultra-Right. The fascist-oriented ultra-Right is irrevocably committed to a policy of all-out escalation and nuclear war, while on the other hand the present Administration line is not thus unalterably fixed and a fight can be realistically waged to reverse it.

Nevertheless, for the moment the U.S. policy remains one of endless escalation, one based on the demand for unconditional surrender. The Administration is telling the people of North Vietnam: "We are going to bomb your cities until you join us in crushing the people's liberation movement in South Vietnam--until you 'police' the liberation forces there." And after each new step, the turning of the tide becomes that much more difficult.

The rising demand to stop the bombing of North Vietnam is a minimum first-step demand. It is the absolute minimum prerequisite for bringing about negotiations. And it is a proper demand even if there should be no negotiations. Our central task remains the exposure of the operations of U.S. imperialism and the fight for the full right of self-determination for the people of Vietnam. Our demand is for the total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from every inch of foreign soil.

IV. FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY

A nation cannot go too long in one direction in its foreign policy and in another in its domestic policy. Sooner or later, the policy that dominates will drag the other with it. This is the crux of the problem we now face. The dominant policy at

this moment--the aggressive foreign policy--is beginning to cast its shadow over all other questions. There is a danger that it will drag the whole political scene in its wake; in fact, the warning signals are already flying.

The militaristic, aggressive direction of foreign policy has given the ultra-Right a new lease on life. These forces are beginning to sense that they are wanted again as the polluted atmosphere in which they grow so well shows signs of getting heavier. McCarthyism persisted and was tolerated because it served a purpose. It served as the terror squad to frighten all opposition to imperialist policies. Today, an atmosphere of tolerance of the Birchites, of the ultra-Right, is again being cultivated.

In addition, there is an escalation in harassment by the FBI. This harassment is intended to terrorize the whole progressive-civil rights-peace-Left spectrum. Redbaiting attacks on the civil rights organizations are increasing. The vicious attack by Harry Truman on Rev. Martin Luther King, in which Truman echoed the slanders of J. Edgar Hoover, fits into this pattern. There is a new element in the redbaiting attacks against The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, the Du Bois Clubs, the Southern Conference Educational Fund and other organizations.

What is noteworthy is that the attacks are being inspired and directed by forces high in the Johnson Administration. In this connection, we cannot overlook the harsh, arbitrary manner in which Johnson has treated the Congressmen and Senators who oppose the present Administration policy.

There are also signs of legislative backsliding. True, the Medicare Bill was passed, but not before some very serious deletions took place. The anti-poverty program remains on the level of pilot projects and temporary relief, and the backsliders are hard at work to keep it there. More and more the argument is heard that the best solution for unemployment among the youth is to increase the military draft. Farm subsidies have been cut with no provision for farm aid in their place. Social legislation can become a victim of escalation on the war front.

This is not to say that the Administration's legislative policies have already been reversed and the path of concessions has been abandoned. On the contrary, the passage of the Medicare and federal aid to education bills, with all their limitations, represent important concessions. These were won as a result of struggle by labor unions and other groups. And undoubtedly they were achieved also because our ruling circles felt, in view of the prolonged economic upturn, that they could afford them.

Further struggle can win further gains. But if the present course in foreign policy continues, the struggle will become increasingly difficult and uphill. Consider the situation of the steelworkers, for example. If there is no agreement by the time of the August deadline, and if the escalation goes on, can anyone doubt that every pressure will be exerted on them to pare down their demands and to avoid a strike, in the name of the national emergency? Or consider the question of military appropriations. Congress has already rushed through a special appropriation of \$700 million for the war in Vietnam. If it continues, we can expect requests for increases several times that large. That money will have to come from somewhere,

and it is clear that it will mean further pressures on spending for social welfare. Reactionary forces have always used the demands of war as a basis for attacking social legislation, and this situation will be no exception.

Already, instead of a struggle for social legislation, there is a growing barrage of talk about a "consensus." Fundamentally, this is nothing more than an attempt to pressure the majority to support unpopular policies against their own best interests. When policies are in the narrow interests of monopoly capital, there can be no consensus with the other 90 per cent of the American people. Thus, there can be no democratic "consensus" in support of the war in Vietnam. On the other hand, monopoly capital will not willingly join in a consensus in support of policies in the interests of the people, and thereby also of the nation. Thus, they will not join in a "consensus" for civil rights or a real war on poverty. The contradiction between the interests of monopoly and those of the people is irreconcilable. The talk of "consensus" is only grease for the rails on which the backsliders on social legislation would set the country.

The flags of warning also have a deeper meaning. They are indications of the fact that the struggle for social progress and the struggle against imperialist aggression are becoming more and more closely joined. To fight for the former, one must fight against the increasing drain of these imperialist adventures. Conversely, to fight against these is to strengthen the fight for social advance. A heightened mass struggle on both fronts, therefore, can both guarantee progress on the social welfare front and turn the tide on the foreign policy front.

In this context, the role of the Republicans is worth a word of special comment. They are the cheering section on both fronts. In foreign policy they are having it both ways: their policy is being carried out but they do not have to worry about being labelled the "war party." They are cheering the escalation and in turn using it as the excuse for backsliding on social legislation. And so they are happily looking forward to the 1966 elections, in which the Democrats will be charged with scuttling the program of social progress because of their war in Vietnam. But like Johnson, the Republicans are also misjudging the temper of the American people, who are beginning to demand more than a change of party labels.

IV. MASS MOVEMENTS

The worldwide reaction to the aggression in Vietnam has become a big factor for peace. With the possible exception of the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt, never since the days of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo has world public opinion been as opposed to a policy as it is now. This public opinion has prevented even token participation by any government in the operations in Vietnam. During the last week alone, 50,000 people protested U.S. policy in London, 30,000 in Tokyo, 20,000 in Cambodia. In Canada, 3,000 students held a sit-down on the steps of the U.S. Embassy.

Henry Cabot Lodge is now making his second round of "allied recruiting," but he is being besieged by popular protests wherever he goes. The United States has never been as isolated as it is today. The place in the spotlight has turned into a hot seat.

By far the most significant development, however, is the escalation of the mass protest movements by the American people. Within the space of a month, we have witnessed two historic mass mobilizations, two popular responses that demonstrate a new level of political understanding, a new level of militancy. These speak for the greatness of the American people generally, but especially for the new fine quality of our young generation. It gives one a deep sense of confidence that the war tide can and will be turned.

These two mobilizations have been on two very vital questions -- one on a basic issue of democracy, the other on the life-and-death question of peace. One was sparked by the events in Alabama, the other by the events in Vietnam. And it is not accidental that the most popular slogan in the mass action around Alabama was: "Bring the troops back from Vietnam and send them to Alabama." What is especially encouraging is that new sections of our people are joining in these struggles and that they have for many become two phases of one struggle. Civil rights leaders are increasingly peace leaders, and peace leaders are increasingly civil rights leaders.

The struggle against U.S. imperialist policies is the newer of these two mass currents. It is a new, a higher kind of a patriotic movement, motivated by the true self-interests of our nation and people. It is a fight to return our nation to the path of peace, democracy and social progress. Its patriotic nature is emphasized by the sharp contrast with the anti-national nature of the policies followed by the forces of imperialism. There is a growing concern about the harm to our country's interests inherent in the policy of recklessly gambling with American lives and prestige by U.S. imperialism and the Administration.

This movement of resistance to the policies of aggression has broader and deeper roots than any previous peace movement in our history. In assessing its level, one must bear in mind that this is a protest that of necessity is directed against the policies of our government alone. Even the test ban struggle was directed to many governments. A struggle against the policies of one's own government requires a much higher political and ideological understanding. It is a long way from the "plague on both your houses" level of a few years ago. The April 17th march in Washington and the Selma-to-Montgomery march were truly splendid, unforgettable historic events. They registered a new kind of commitment in the struggle for peace and democracy.

The march reflected a strong, spontaneous upsurge of sentiment for peace and democracy. The broad popular wellsprings of understanding from which these mass actions originated, and the partly spontaneous nature of these marches, represent the most important political force in this country. By and large the mass currents that responded against the ultra-Right in the elections, and again to the events in Alabama, are now in motion against the war policies of U.S. imperialism.

The hundreds of "teach-ins" of the past weeks, with tens of thousands of participants, are a new method of struggle which has brought in thousands of new fighters. These "teach-ins" reflect a significant growth of anti-imperialist understanding. The all-night discussions have revealed a surprising understanding of the basic issues involved, and a new level of acceptance among students and faculty members that there are other systems besides capitalism. It is a level that says: "If the

people of any country want to try socialism, they must have that right." In many colleges, these "teach-ins" were the first protest of any kind that have taken place.

The reactions and protests by unions are also of great importance. The resolution of the UAW Executive Board; the actions by the West Coast longshore union, District 65, Local 1199 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, and the teamsters; the editorials in the union papers -- are all signs of a new level of activity by the trade unions for world peace.

There are also, it is true, such expressions of all-out support for the aggressive Administration policies as those of David Dubinsky and George Meany. These are grim reminders that the trade union movement has far to go before it assumes its proper place in the struggle for peace. But it is the wave of protests that is significant, that is indicative of the direction in which organized labor is moving.

Then there is the unprecedented number of signers of newspaper ads. This now includes tens of thousands of names of the clergy, public figures, labor leaders and professionals. The list of signers of the writers' ad is unprecedented. It includes almost every writer of any public note. The newspaper ads have developed into a major method of struggle because the mass media have been closed to voices of protest. The letters-to-the-editor columns have never been so crowded with letters of protest as they are on Vietnam.

The number of mass protest meetings -- all very successful -- has greatly increased. There has been a growth of people's committees which have called mass protest meetings in all kinds of new and smaller communities. Our Party, and individual Communists, have played a very commendable role in all this.

The April 17th Washington action was a dramatic demonstration that the struggle for peace has now emerged fully, along with civil rights, as one of the mass popular currents of struggle. This is a very significant development.

It is also significant that the third of these popular currents is also slowly rising, namely, the struggle against the effects of automation in the hands of big business.

Since 1961 our policy discussions have taken into account the three rising mass currents of struggle. Of these, the struggle for Civil Rights was the first to erupt into a struggle involving millions. This current continues, and it continues to influence all phases of our life.

Now the second of these currents has emerged into a mass movement of great numbers. The struggle for peace has turned into a mass struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialist aggression.

The third mass current has not yet erupted with the same force as the other two. This current is the inevitable struggle that will develop against the effects of automation while it is in the uncontrolled hands of big business. Most union contract negotiations have taken on a small part of the problem of automation. Many have won important concessions. But the emergence of automation is a fundamental change. It demands a more fundamental change in labor-capital relations. For a

short period of time, the attrition agreements postponed the problem for those who have high seniority. But it is no solution for the working class as a whole. The total work force is increasing while the number of workers on the job is decreasing. It is no solution for the millions of youth who are in ever larger numbers pressing on the doors of employment offices. And it is no solution for anyone when the boom of the economic cycle begins to fade.

These questions are stirring the ranks of labor. There is a growing uneasiness about what is going to happen. At this very moment the steelworkers, longshore and other unions are squaring off for a major battle in this arena.

The three currents together make up the pillars for a people's movement for peace, democracy and economic security. This will be the basis of the anti-monopoly coalition, the coalition that will rescue our country from the control of monopoly.

A word about the civil rights struggle. During these last weeks the civil rights movement has scored some historic victories. The involvement of millions of Americans in weeks of continuous mass actions, rising to a climax in the Selma-to-Montgomery march, set the stage for a breakthrough in the right-to-vote drive. The significance of this breakthrough goes very deep, and it will reverberate far and wide.

It places on the order of the day a challenge to the political structure of Jim Crow in the South. It is a direct political challenge to the instruments of terror and oppression. It is a challenge to the medieval electoral system that has kept in political office the guardians of the system of discrimination and segregation. It is a challenge to a system of government that has kept the South a source of strength for reaction nationally.

It is a challenge to a corrupt bigoted officialdom that has kept trade unions out of the southern industries. It is a challenge to the southern wage differential. The stage is set for a breakthrough against a hundred years and more of backwardness and reaction.

But the breakthrough is still only a promise. The right-to-vote law has not been passed yet, and the legislative backsliders are busy here too. Passage will be an important victory, but even at its best it will not wipe out all of the electoral inequalities applied against the Negro people. The bill will not establish universal suffrage for all. As it now stands, it does not abolish the poll tax. It does not prohibit the states from establishing new restrictions that could be used against Negro voters. It is not a bill that establishes the machinery to guarantee every one's voting rights as prescribed in the Constitution. In short, it is an important step, but it is not yet the total victory in the struggle for the right to vote.

And even the passage of a law does not guarantee victory. Our statute books are full of laws that were enacted because of mass struggles but have never been implemented. A continuous struggle for the implementation of such laws is the only road to victory. This is the nature of the struggle for reforms under capitalism. There are no days off or coasting in it. If you relax for a day, it will take a week to make up what you lost. For the forces of progress, when the struggle for the passage of a law is won, the struggle for its implementation starts.

V. A LOOK AT SOME POLICY QUESTIONS

In a review of a period in which struggles have greatly sharpened, and in which political positions and relations have been battered by violent storms, it is necessary to examine some of our policy moorings. We must see if we have not permitted either too much slack or not enough on one or another of our political moorings, and have thereby developed one-sidedness. I do not think the problem is one of losing our moorings altogether, although in a political struggle that also is not impossible. We need this check on policy because we are under constant pressure.

With regard to the struggle for peaceful coexistence I have already indicated a direction. For us the task at the moment is to turn back the tide of U.S. imperialist aggression. In fact, for the world, this is the central front. This is a . . . crucial test in the struggle for policies of peaceful coexistence. The very essence of the struggle for policies of peaceful coexistence is the fight against imperialism. This is the very purpose of that policy.

It has never been a policy based on the acceptance of status quo in world relations. It has been and it remains an effective weapon of struggle. In this struggle it uses both hands. With one, it holds back the aggressive forces of imperialism and world war; with the other, it gives full support to the forces fighting for national independence, and for the peoples who are moving towards a socialist goal.

The test whether a policy is based on actuality is in whether it can be translated into tactics and struggle. And the test of tactics is whether it can change that actuality. A check on the correctness of tactics cannot be whether they could or could not have been correct in the past, or whether they will or will not still be correct for the future. They must correctly reflect the actuality of this day. Therefore in tactics, timing and the necessary flexibility are the most crucial ingredients.

The sharpening of struggle by itself does not call for a change in policy; it tests it. The estimates on which policy is based do not change because there is struggle. Because the estimates were not of neutral forces placidly growing or declining, but of forces in struggle. And they took into account the effect of struggles on the forces involved.

A second policy question that comes up for airing is whether our estimate of the balance of world forces and the concept of the new epoch are still valid. There are also the two derivative conclusions from this estimate: first, that because of the changed balance of forces, world wars are not inevitable; and second, that the possibilities of a peaceful transition to socialism for some countries have increased. Are these still valid?

There is nothing in the sharpened struggles that has in any way placed these concepts in question. True, the balance of forces is at this time again going through one of its severe tests. At issue is whether the forces of anti-imperialism and peace the world over can turn back the tide of imperialism and war. That such tests occur is itself proof of the existence of the new relationship of forces. In

past periods when imperialism was dominant, the question did not come up. In this test, as well as in previous ones, I am confident that imperialism will be forced to retreat.

The reckless aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism are not a reflection of growing strength of imperialism. They are desperate attempts to stop the progressive march of history that is being propelled by the growing strength of the forces of socialism and national liberation revolutions.

I want to keep returning to the element of struggle in our calculations because I think this is one of the moorings where there has been some slack. We have not always made it clear that the balance of forces we are talking about is a balance of forces in struggle -- in ideological, political, economic combat. The tipping of the scales in this balance takes place as a result of struggle. If world wars and wars of imperialist conquest, are not inevitable, it is because the strengthened forces of peace and anti-imperialism are in struggle against imperialism. It is this and not some abstract force in reserve that raises the possibility of stopping these wars. The estimate that we make and our confidence in victory is based on the potential strength of these forces in struggle.

The same yardstick applies to the possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism. That it is possible is being proven by a number of the newly-liberated countries. Many of these countries are now picking their way through the mine fields of this transition. But again, it is possible to do so because there is struggle. And this means organization, mobilization and movement with a conscious development of perspective.

In this connection, there is one other loose end we should pin down. We must give greater emphasis to the fact that the tipping of the scales in the world is a historical process. It is not a steady, smooth development. There are setbacks, slow-downs, turn-offs and even puzzling detours. For example, the divisions in the ranks of the socialist countries and the world Marxist movement have had, I believe, a slowing-down effect on some of the processes within this historical period of revolutionary transition. In some cases, this has given imperialism more room to maneuver and at times even the initiative. In some cases it has slowed down the movement of the newly independent nations to socialism. The divisions have confused and weakened some of the forces fighting for independence. They have caused some lowering of the fighting ability of the forces of socialism, and have prevented the socialist forces from placing their united weight on the scales of progress. Thus, while these divisions have not basically changed the balance of world forces, they have temporarily slowed down some aspects of the shift taking place.

The policy question that pops up most often is: in view of the present foreign policy direction of the Johnson Administration, what about the Communist election policy? But before dealing with this, let me say first, that if, on the basis of new experiences and changes in any situation, at any time, on any issue we are ever convinced that our position was wrong, we must be ready to say so publicly. It is not a crime to make a mistake. But it is one not to correct it.

Before writing the article in the April Political Affairs defending our policy*, I reviewed our electoral tactics in all its aspects. The conclusion I reached is that our policy was correct, even from the viewpoint of hindsight: The essence of that article should be considered as a part of this report.

In discussing questions of policy or tactical line, one comes up against the same point -- that tactics refers to struggle. What we are reviewing is a tactical line of struggle, for a specific moment, with a specific set of circumstances, a specific relationship of forces, each with a specific direction, and not as they are now, but as they were then. We Marxists start from the premise that all history since primitive times has been a history of class struggle. Our tactical line is intended to influence that struggle at each stage of development -- not to invent a struggle, but to influence that which exists.

Our critics say, "You worked to defeat the ultra-Right candidates. Well, they were defeated. What did you gain? Do you think those who were elected will do anything?" It is an interesting fact that most of our critics do not say a better alternative was open within the realities of 1964. Somehow they seem to blame the Communists for not providing that alternative. Because struggle is the keystone of our tactics, we worked out a policy of electoral struggles that was realistic -- a policy of directing the sharp end of our attack against the ultra-Right. And here we must emphasize again: tactics involves people, struggle involves people. Correct tactics are always related to concrete struggles around specific issues involving specific people -- people who are ready to take some level of action, but not ready to break completely with the past and not ready to step out boldly into advanced positions -- at that specific moment.

Within the context of the challenge by the ultra-Right, by a combination of the most reactionary forces -- the fascists, the Dixiecrats, the Birchites, the Ku Klux Klan and other fanatical groups -- our electoral policy was correct.

In response to the question, "What did you gain?", we ask, "Is it easier, are the possibilities of organizing struggles better, because the ultra-Right was defeated? Are the reactionary forces in the country weaker or stronger? Did the masses learn anything? Did they gain confidence? Are they stronger in the battles of today because of their experiences?" These are the tests of whether the alternative was meaningful. Policies that could not be translated into meaningful tactics related to the influencing of masses, and therefore the changing of that reality were meaningless.

It is our conviction that within the realities of 1964 there were no better alternatives available. Our policy was a policy of struggle within the limits of these realities. Since the elections, the unprecedented mass actions on civil rights and on Vietnam are proof that the masses who rallied to defeat the ultra-Right have continued the struggles. They are demanding that Johnson carry out the promises of his election speeches. Would the situation be better if the most reactionary candidates had swept the elections?

Our electoral line was not anchored in a reliance on Johnson and Humphrey!

* Gus Hall. "The Mandate: Selma and Vietnam," Political Affairs, April 1965.

8 0

They were and are as much representatives of U.S. imperialism as is Goldwater. The reliance was on the masses who voted for the Democrats as an alternative to the open reactionary war-now stance of Goldwater. The reliance was on the outlook that these masses would continue the struggle after the elections. All tactics must reflect the way in which the masses see their self-interests. Our electoral tactic reflected the way in which the important sections of labor, the Negro Americans, and the different mass currents saw their self-interests within the 1964 elections.

The emergence of the broad electoral confluence, and the defeat of the forces of the ultra-Right was a necessary and an unavoidable stage of struggle. Without a victory on that level in the overall struggle against reaction, the present resistance to the Johnson doctrine of aggression would be at a much greater disadvantage. As was the case in the electoral movements, the forces now fighting against the policies of imperialist aggression are not limited to the Left. As was the case during the elections, there are again pressures to isolate the Left from the broader forces. The Administration would like nothing better than to create the impression that the opposition to its war policies comes only from the Left.

The Left has an important role to play in the present struggle against the war policies of the Johnson Administration. But to do so in isolation from the broad masses who are moving and protesting but on a more minimum level would be a mistake. It would be as serious a mistake as it would have been to do so in the 1964 elections.

In the application of this correct policy, some shortcomings did appear. Some were in the direction of not giving enough attention to the weaknesses and wrong policies of the Johnson Administration while still directing the main fire at the ultra-Right. This would not have weakened the fight against the ultra-Right, and it would have better prepared the masses for the battles after the elections. But the real damage was caused by the wrong policy of abstractly discussing and dreaming of a meaningful alternative when it was not in the cards. This line led to hopelessness and isolation during the elections and to pessimism and inactivity after the elections. It led even some well-meaning people on the Left to a sense of dead-end frustration. Had it prevailed, it would not have prepared the masses for a struggle against the war policies of the Johnson Administration. It would have led to inaction and fatalistic resignation to the "inevitable." Of course, the fact that some advocated such wrong policies does not excuse us for our mistakes, but it does put them into proper perspective.

While it is correct to say that we did not give sufficient attention to the wrong policies of the Johnson Administration during the election campaign, it would be wrong to stretch this to the conclusion that there is nothing really new in the present situation--that the Johnson of today is the same Johnson as before the elections. True, he was then and now a representative of American imperialism, and there is correspondingly a continuity in his policies. But there is also a difference. What Johnson said about Vietnam in August 1964 was that we were not going North, that losing 190 lives during the period of intervention in South Vietnam was bad, but nothing like the 190,000 we might lose if we escalated the war. At that time he opposed the escalation which he has now brought about.

This may have been simply election campaign oratory. But if struggle is the keystone of tactics, then one never relies on the promises of a politician. One of the factors that must be weighed is how he is likely to respond to mass pressures

and struggles. And in this respect there has been a shift, at least for the present moment. But the masses are now demonstrating for the concepts they voted for.

We must, of course, always keep probing for better alternatives, for higher forms of electoral struggle. And here we must say in all candor that this is a mooring that has some slack. We do not always fight for meaningful alternatives. We tend to accept things as they come. We do not take enough initiative for the development of independent Left or progressive electoral formations. We are satisfied with a few discussions with some individuals about such alternatives. We tend to go through the forms. There can be no question that with timely initiative and a struggle, some more meaningful alternatives for some of the lower offices could have been secured even in 1964.

One of the best tests of whether real conviction for the correctness of a policy exists is what signs of resourcefulness there are in carrying it out. In all honesty, we must admit that resourcefulness is not one of the characteristics of much of our electoral work.

VI. TOWARD THE 1966 ELECTIONS

Now is the time to set in motion the processes that will correct these weaknesses for the 1965 and 1966 elections. The possibilities of raising the level of the electoral activities of the masses have greatly increased. The waves of political turbulence set off by the events in Vietnam and Alabama have shaken the structure and the roots of our political institutions. These mass currents are developing towards a level at which they can become the dominant influence in our political life.

James Reston of the New York Times expresses concern over this development, saying that "for officials here not to take it seriously enough to counter the revolt could be irresponsible." What Reston has in mind, I suppose, is to counter it with more "unconditional negotiations" demagoguery. The only real way to counter it is with some honest steps toward peace, but according to a report this morning, the Cabinet held a special emergency meeting to work out ways to combat the resistance to its policies.

How this new level of mass struggles is to find its expression in the electoral field is becoming a burning question. There are some very strong pressures for answers. This is a growing dissatisfaction with the idea of politically being represented through some one or another existing electoral organization. There is a growing feeling that too many of the politicians of today are like slippery eels when it comes to relations with mass movements, and a growing demand for a new kind of politician, a new kind of public official, a new kind of candidate. The candidate who is an outside friend is losing favor, as against the candidate who is part of "the movement," who is directly committed. Some of the candidates in the elections in Georgia are of this new type. Though they are running on the Democratic ticket, some of them are intimately identified with the civil rights movement.

There is a growing dissatisfaction with having to choose between two candidates whom someone else has designated. What this indicates, is a determination by these masses to get closer to the source of political power, to get past the old party machines. This determination, along with the breakthrough in the voter -

registration drive in the South and the developments around reapportionment, the factional feuding that has split and stymied the work of the large democratic majority in the state governments and the control of state governments by the ultra-Right are forcing to the surface a crisis of the party machines as we have known them.

The two-party system and the two old parties are structurally set up to keep the masses at arm's length from the source of selecting and nominating candidates. In this sense, the two old parties are not parties of the masses. They are more a voting structure. They are party symbols. During critical moments, during periods of popular upsurge this built-in contradiction within the political set-up itself becomes an issue. The masses become dissatisfied and frustrated at being kept at arm's length. The contradiction becomes an obstacle to being able to express in political and electoral terms the new level of struggle. To overcome this obstacle the masses move towards independent formations, forms that reflect the grassroots ferment.

The new level of mass struggles calls for new forms of electoral activities--for new independent forms with grass roots participation, forms that will actually take these masses closer to the source of political power. It calls for a people's political action and legislative type of organizations. The crisis is not so much over the two-party form of voting as it is over the power of nomination and the relationship of these parties to the everyday struggles. People want more than hack ward leaders, or just being consulted on election day.

To illustrate, let me discuss one specific type of problem. In the 1964 elections, a number of rather liberal and progressive Congressmen were swept into office. Many of them have fought very well, so well that the ultra-Right organizations are now aiming to defeat them next year. This is the ultra-Right concentration policy for 1966. They are building electoral organizations within these concentration districts. If these Congressmen are going to rely only on the Democratic Party organizations (most of them were elected on the Democratic ticket), many of them are going to have rough going. Most of the Democratic Party organizations are not geared politically or organizationally to carry on a fight that involves the mass issues of today. Also because of the Johnson Administration's war policies, there will be some who will refuse to continue to carry on their political work through the Democratic Party.

Clearly, it is necessary in every such district to set into motion the building of some kind of Congressional District people's political action type of organizations. This applies also to other districts where it is possible to elect labor, Negro, peace and youth candidates.

One other word about the forms of independent political action. Flexibility in form is a tradition in American politics. It's a good tradition. What works in one place may not work in another. Thus, the Freedom Democratic Party which has done such heroic work in Mississippi is not a form that is applicable to all parts of the country. In the South it is a means of challenging the Democratic Party machine without falling into the clutches of the GOP. The challenge to the seating of the Dixiecrat Congressional delegation goes to the root of the struggle for democracy in our country. The relationship and the problems are not the same in other sections of the country. The question is not one of organizing a new party. That is not the

nature of the mass pressures at this moment. These pressures are rather for independent forms and independent candidates, still within the old voting structure. But whatever the precise forms, the need exists for much sounder, more resourceful and bolder initiative all along this electoral front.

There is the new level of mass activity seeking for forms of political expression. The battles for civil rights and peace are being fought on the political level. The marches are to the capitals--to Washington, to Montgomery.

VII. LEFT UNITY

For some time now our Party has taken the initiative in promoting united Left action. We have called attention to the importance of such unity in guiding and coordinating popular movements for independent political action, in the development of new forms of such activity, in legislative campaigns, in advancing the level of the peace movement, and in other spheres of struggle. We shall continue our efforts in this direction, because such Left unity is a necessary weapon against reaction. However, if it is to be advanced, there are some problems within the Left movement itself that have to be aired. These include some wrong tendencies, some one-sidedness within our own ranks.

There is one persistent school of thought on the Left which argues that there is really no Left on the American scene, that it has irretrievably disintegrated. And some have appointed themselves as the creators of this new Left. The latest issue of the theoretical spokesman for this view, Studies on the Left, editorially declared:

"What remains of radicalism in this country is only a rhetorical posture: radicalism has firm roots in no party, no movement, no class, and has no continuing and influential body of ideas and experience. To state this is not to despair, but to clear away the inhibiting decay of an ambiguous heritage so that we can begin to work."

This follows on other editorials and articles that have washed away the "left." These assertions are harmful; they create hopelessness and pessimism. They reflect not a Left influence but the influence of the Right on the Left.

The true nature of such a new, neat "radical Left" is evident from some of the discussion which has taken place with a view to start building it. In this discussion, two guiding principles emerge. First, it should have the political shade of a liberal-socialist, broad Left. Second, it should screen out "known Communists."

What this indicates is that the idea is not one of building a united Left, but rather one of building a detour, especially designed to direct the youth away from the path that leads to a strong Communist movement. An anti-Communist "Left" is not the path to united Left action. It is not a path to socialism.

We are not for taking part in any fake "Left unity" or "left" organizations whose basic aim is not the struggle against reaction but rather to take advantage of the attacks on the Communist movement to build a "radical Left" wing of anti-Communism. We are not for so-called "Left unity" which serves in any way to weaken or undermine the position of the Communist Party. We are for Left unity if it attacks, and weakens reaction.

What attitude should a movement or an organization or an individual take to red-baiting? This is the most serious problem of the Left. The issue is not one's attitude toward the program or policies of the Communist Party, or even toward the attacks on the Communist Party. These are important issues, but we Communists do not place them as conditions for Left unity.

The heart of the problem is the red-baiting attack on the Left organizations themselves. The question is: how should organizations or individuals react when under a red-baiting attack? Should they reject red-baiting and fight back? Or should they cave in and accommodate? It is a problem any new Left organization or united Left action faces even before it sees the light of day. This is a life-and-death question for any such organization or movement. The first step of accommodation is a public confession: "We are not a Communist organization."

There is a deadly logic to this first step, because the attack by reaction continues. The non-Communist vow will have to be followed by an anti-Communist statement. How else can such an organization prove that it is non-Communist? Then, too, it will have to give visible proof by screening out known Communists. The investigation of suspected Communists will have to follow. By this time, the FBI will have slipped in lists of such suspects. Then there are always some non-Communists who will object to this McCarthyism under a Left-liberal cloak. They are the next on the list because they are either "unknown Communists" or "dupes" of Communists. So they must go. During all this time the organization cannot take positions or participate in struggles because the Communists have similar positions and are taking part in these struggles, and this, of course, would raise suspicions about the organization.

In the end, what is left? A do-nothing, conservative organization, made up of frightened people talking in whispers about how there is no Left movement, how the trade union movement is a "sewer" and how much easier life would be if only the Communists would lie down and die. Now, there is and there can be a non-Communist Left. There can be a Left that does not agree with the manner in which socialism is being built across the seas. But the usefulness or the effectiveness of a red-baiting "Left" is very questionable.

There is a fundamental difference between honestly disagreeing with Communist concepts, and red-baiting. As is the case with white chauvinism, anti-Semitism, or the witchhunts and inquisitions throughout history, red-baiting is built upon a deliberate falsehood, a calculated misrepresentation, a caricature image designed to take advantage of backwardness, of political illiteracy and ideological witchery. Red-baiting is the most effective weapon in the arsenal of reaction.

It, with anti-Semitism, was the central pillar in the ideological arsenal of Hitlerism. It was the big gun of McCarthyism. Red-baiting is the chief weapon of the ultra-Right. It remains the major weapon of Franco and Salazar. It has become the cover for the Johnson doctrine of aggression. Red-baiting was used to split the U.S. trade unions. It is the weapon that keeps the world trade unions split. Red-baiting is the main obstacle - it is the weapon that has kept and keeps the Left from united action.

Many on the Left do not honestly believe, nor do they accept, the caricature image of the Communist movement. But they make public statements as if they do. To some on the Left, red-baiting is a personal shield to ward off the attacks of reaction. It may temporarily soften the blow, but in the process it is destroying the Left. To stand up against red-baiting is not standing up for the Communist movement. It is the only way to stand up against reaction.

Such is the logic of accommodation to red-baiting.

Some of the civil rights organizations have heroically rejected red-baiting and fought back. Their position is clear. They will judge each participant on his or her merits. They are not in the business of anti-Communism. At the April 17th Washington action, Bob Moses, SNCC Field Secretary, made this his main point. He exposed and denounced anti-Communism. The 30,000 demonstrators gave him a tremendous ovation at this point. John Lewis, in his speech at the Robeson reception, hit out at red-baiting. The rejection of red-baiting is a growing feature of the Left-progressive movement. This is what is really new on the Left. There are some Left forces who are not happy about this, because in it they see a vacuum disappearing, a vacuum created by the red-baiting, and to which they have added by their own "radical-Left" version of red-baiting. As this vacuum disappears, the relations of our Party to mass movements will improve.

VIII. THE PARTY

This growing rejection of red-baiting and the growing influence of the Communist movement is presenting some new questions for us Communists also. While red-baiting is increasingly rejected on the one hand, we are still working under the conditions of severe legal restrictions on the other. And we must not ignore either side of the question.

One of the difficulties arises from the fact that most people are not aware of the repressive laws, and so they cannot understand why more Communists do not work publicly. There is a growing desire among forces within the mass movements to see Communists work more openly. I think we have not drawn the full conclusions from this development. We have not responded by a greater public participation by Communists. We are failing to walk through open doors within the mass movements. We are too much dominated by the closed doors of the anti-democratic restrictive laws. We have not fully worked out methods of functioning that take these problems into account. We are using political byways when the direct routes are wide open. While greater numbers want to hear and work with Communists directly, we continue to work and speak indirectly.

This is an area of our work that needs an examination, one which will shake the Party out of some old habits and methods. This is one of those problems that has become more pressing because there has been an improvement in the situation. But whatever the solutions are, they must take into account all sides of the question. There are no cure-alls or gimmicks.

For some years we have pressed for the concept of intermediary forms of organization. But there has been a resistance to it, and we had to do real battle to get this accepted in the field of youth work. The resistance is due in part to the

fact that some do not see the need for it. It is based on an old dogmatic-sectarian approach to forms of organization.

Others resist such forms for other reasons. They are not for building intermediary forms because what they want is an organization that would replace the Communist Party. They are convinced that under the present circumstances the Communist Party cannot play a role, cannot be built, and will not be able to fight its way out of the present legal or political difficulties. This is basically a defeatist, liquidationist position, one that flows from the difficulties and frustrations of the period.

The correct position does not see the light of day very often because it becomes suffocated between these two wrong outlooks.

We need a new, bold, vigorous approach to building the Party. Party-building can and must again become a major feature of our work. We must ask every member, "When was the last time you tried to recruit any one?" A member that does not try to recruit is a member who is not convinced of the Party's future, or is not convinced the people of the United States are going to make it. Either way, it's the same thing.

Let me conclude with a word about the Party's work during these last stormy weeks. I think we can be very proud of our Party and its contributions. The Party has shown greater initiative during this crisis than it has for many, many years. The Party has recaptured its ability to spark mass actions. Increasing numbers of our members and leaders have been directly involved in mass movements. One of the proofs of this is the increase of red-baiting attacks.

Within the positive picture, there are weaknesses. I think there are weaknesses in the methods of mobilization, for example, for distribution of Party material or in the circulation of the press. But in the overall picture, the activity of the Party in this period has reached a new high.

In the process of making our contribution to the struggles of our class and people, our Party will find the path to correct its own weaknesses. It is in many ways a very historic moment. We can be a factor in deciding the direction our nation will follow.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Done*

DATE: June 16, 1965

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 6/15/65, the New York Office furnished the text of a message which the informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- ~~1 - Mr. Belmont~~
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:drv

ENCLOSURE

65 JUN 23 1965

REC-18

EX-100

100-428091-4952

JUN 21 1965

6/16/Q

#120#WALLISCORRECTTHEREFOREWILLSEYOUWEDNESDAY#23#

ON#7#THFLTIME#2#.#40#SPRING..

05580 79718 86357 85534 93684 34455 21925 60711 89883 12123
19893 37827 59238 44495 68246 40958 80575 63845 16521 83885
77695 07636 24993 68976 89269 69886 67305 13854 72271 63767

100-428091-4952

ENCLOSURE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 6/17/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 6/16/65, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets, through the secondary channel--ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN--a number of messages on microfilm, the plain texts of which are as follows:

(1) The following message was in cipher-code:

"120 Wall is correct; therefore will see you
 Wednesday 23, on 7th floor, time 2:40.

"JACK BROOKS"

The above refers to the next transmission of money from the Soviets to the CPUSA.

1-813RB

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(Enc. 1)(RM AM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
- 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub B (NIKOLAI TALANOV)(341)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
 (8)

REC-10/06-428091-4953

ST-107

9 JUN 22 1965

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-134637-2065
 JUN 22 1965

NY 100-134637

(2) The following message was in partial code:

"PLEASE NOTE

"GUS HALL has sent through word now that he would like to have the last EDITED COPY OF HIS REPORT (MAY 1965) published. Therefore disregard the last notation 'not for publication' 'to be read only by your Central Committee'----- So to make sure please note the following -- Do not mix this report up with the one that was sent to you in April which was the UNEDITED COPY.

"THIS edited copy of HALL's report (May 1965) is being printed in 1000 copies for CPUSA discussion throughout USA. While it will not be published in printed form as a pamphlet in this form because of its internal Party character, HALL suggests however it be made available through its publication in such organs as the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW BULLETIN and other Party mediums of Party organs such as PRAVDA, etc."

For information concerning above, see NY airtel 6/10/65, page 6.

(3) The following message was in partial code:

"To CCCPSU

"As in the unofficial message of June 11, 1965, sent to you through Comrade BILL KASHTAN, Comrade CARL WINTER of CPUSA Secretariat will definitely make that trip. However, we want to advise you that our Secretariat decided to accept the invitation of the Rumanian CP Conference to send a delegation to their Conference opening July 19th. Comrade CARL WINTER is to be delegate to Conference, and has been asked to meet the Cuban comrades in Cuba after the Conference. The delegation was to have been MORRIS CHILDS and Comrade CARL WINTER, but MORRIS CHILDS is overtaxed with many important political burdens and will travel later. Please have visa for CARL WINTER to USSR which he may pick up in Rumania after their Conference.

"MORRIS CHILDS"

NY 100-134637

(4) The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU

"The following comrades will be travelling in USSR starting their tour there on July 19th. They are paying their own expenses, are travelling as tourists:

PETE HAWLEY
JANE BENEDICT (she is the daughter of
WILLIAM WEINSTONE)

"JANE BENEDICT has been corresponding and writing on Soviet Trade Unions. They are both members of CPUSA. Anything that will make them and their trip more interesting in talks with Soviet Trade Union comrades will be of great help both to you and to us. (They are not on CPUSA quota.)

"ALSO:

"Charter member of CPUSA ISRAEL KRISTEL & his wife are to travel to USSR on their own expense. He KRISTEL is the best of the NYC activists and leading in all competition in all important mass work. While they are paying their own fares and expenses if you could link them up with a group that is touring USSR it would be most appreciated--

"GUS HALL"

Re above, "JANE BENEDICT," also known as JEAN WILEY HAWLEY, is subject of Bufile 100-164280. "PETE HAWLEY," also known as PETER K. HAWLEY, is her husband, and is subject of Bufile 100-288010.

"ISRAEL KRISTEL" and his wife in the above message are believed to be identical with ISRAEL CRYSTAL (Bufile 100-432100) and his wife ANNA CRYSTAL (Bufile 100-432177).

NY 100-134637

(5) The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU:

b6
b7C

"Comrade GIL GREEN's [redacted]
(passport [redacted] and her [redacted]
[redacted] (Passport [redacted] will travel and tour
in USSR on their HONEYMOON and are paying their own
travelling expenses.....therefore as you can see
they are NOT on our CPUSA quota -----HOWEVER it would
be most gracious if your CCCPSU would welcome them
and perhaps add additional warmth to two young
newly married comrades, the [redacted] GIL GREEN,
so to make their trip in USSR a memorable one and
a cherished one---whatever attention you will give
them will be appreciated by our Secretariat and
myself. GIL GREEN by no means asked that I send
you such a message but am certain when they return
to USA and describe your attention that it will warm
his heart. [redacted] as you know did not see [redacted]
[redacted] for the many years in which he was away in
prison. Please have your Embassy in Paris give them
the visas for USSR. Please note the names and
passport numbers listed above.

"GUS HALL.

"They will go to the Embassy in Paris in the last
week of June for their visas."

(6) The following message was in partial code:

"To CCCPSU:

"Please transmit the following message to
BEATRICE JOHNSON in Cuba for me: that she may
choose for medical treatment in USSR one month and
that to be in either July or August, and that
this is for medical treatment only. She can be
included in our CPUSA quota for 1965.

"MORRIS CHILDS - GUS HALL"

NY 100-134637

"To BEATRICE JOHNSON in Cuba:

"We have decided that you may have one month of medical treatment in USSR. This is in compliance with your request for medical treatment. Since the months of July and August in Cuba are too hot for you, you may decide whether to go to USSR either in July or in August. We emphasize that this is for only one month, and that your hosts are more than generous in this matter. Therefore arrange your leave from Cuba only for above-specified period.

"GUS HALL - MORRIS CHILDS"

(7) The following message was in partial code:

"We call the following to your attention:

"There is every possibility of New Era Books becoming the largest outlet for English Marxist-Leninist books in USA, and it looks even brighter in the future. But there is no answer to our orders or pleas to reply. Can you please have Mezkniga pay attention to us?

"GUS HALL"

April 14th, 1966

Moskva
Moscow, USSR

Dear Sirs:

(Copy to Mr. Yuri B. Leonov)

Since our letter of Feb. 13, 1966 in which we informed you that NEW ERA BOOKS was going out of business, we have been giving this matter serious attention. All of our accounts have urged us to reconsider this decision. The kind of service and discounts they have received from us they cannot possibly get from any other importer in New York, Chicago or Washington, DC. We have discussed the matter with business advisers who likewise have urged us to continue.

Under the circumstances, we have decided to remain in business. We will make a more determined effort to expand sales and reach a wider market. We are looking forward to your wholehearted cooperation. There is no other firm in the United States interested, willing or capable of handling English transactions exclusively.

Enclosed please find a postal card we just issued. These are being sent to college and university libraries and to individual customers. We are charging prices more in line with American publishing houses and in terms of the intrinsic value of these books.

To avoid cut-throat competition, may we suggest that the book: THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY by MARX & ENGELS be handled exclusively by our firm? Otherwise, some of the importers we know will start peddling this excellent work (in content, production, binding and jacket) as if it were second-hand clothing. Let us know how many copies you printed and we would like to order the entire edition from you.

We also would like to suggest that Central Books, Ltd. in London and Progress Books in Toronto should be informed not to fill any orders for this book received by any firm from any American bookstore, firm or library.

In your letter No. 3-5/699 dated Jan. 26, 1966, you informed us that the STANISLAVSKY CENTENARY edition would be published the 1st quarter of this year. Has it already been published? How large is the printing? Can you airmail us several sample copies immediately? Here, too, we want to place an order for the entire edition, half to be shipped as soon as possible and the other half when we place re-orders.

We would like to make the same request insofar as : SHAKESPEARE IN THE SOVIET UNION; LUNACHARSKY: ESSAYS ON ART & LITERATURE and the PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY are concerned. We wish to buy up the entire edition from you of the above titles. It would be very helpful if these books were to be published even ahead of schedule so that we could receive them by late summer in time for the opening of schools and colleges.

We believe that the above requests are only fair and reasonable. Other importers deal with Russian, Ukrainian books; art objects, records, prints, Atlases, etc. Whereas we deal with and sell English translations exclusively. We could then charge a higher price for these books in accord with established prices here, insure a higher return and profit for M/K as well as for ourselves.

We wish to remind you once again in making up your shipments, please do not send us orders in excess of \$250.00 in gross value. Keep the shipments under \$250.00 so that we can keep our costs down. Place more books in each parcel so that our postage costs won't be so high.

We are printing up a new letter-head. We intend to change the appearance of our shop. We are attaching an order for books. We hope to see Mr. Leonov to discuss some business details within next two weeks. We intend to be rolling.

Yours very

Philip Danfield

NEW ERA BOOKS
(FORMERLY WORLD BOOKS)
80 EAST 11TH ST. RM. 212
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

April 14, 1965

Mezhniga
Moscow, USSR

NEW ORDERS-- BOOKS IN ENGLISH

MARX & ENGELS: The German Ideology - 100 copies

LENIN: Collected Works, Vol. 1 25 copies

LENIN: Collected Works, Vol. 2 25 copies

Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. 16 15 copies

Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. 17 15 copies

MARX: Capital, Vol. 2 25 copies

LENIN: Selected Works, 3 vols. 25 sets

KRUPSKAYA: Reminiscences of Lenin 25 copies

KHRUSHCHEV: Communism - Peace & Happiness
for the People, 2 vols. 10 sets

OPARIN: Origin of Life 25 copies

IN SPANISH

MARX & ENGELS: Communist Manifesto 100 copies - Spanish

DOLORES IBARRURI: El Unico Camino 25 copies "

LENIN: Imperialism & State & Revolution 25 copies each "

LENIN: Selected Works, 3 vols. 25 copies "

MARX & ENGELS: Selected Works, 2 vols. 25 sets "

GORKY: Mother, Childhood, My Universi-
ties, My Apprenticeship 25 copies each "

May 6th, 1965

Moshkova
Moscow, USSR

Dear Sirs:

We wish to place another order for books. They are:

25 copies: Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. 15

25 " Engels: Anti-Duhring

100 " Lenin: Collected Works, Vols. 27, 28, 29 right through 40.
Please do not include Vol. 38 since we still have
a large number in stock.

5 copies: Stratigraphic Classification & Terminology (in English) It
was published by the State Publishing House of the USSR.
Please send invoice for these books via air mail so that I
can quote the price to the professor who has ordered them
from us.

We have heard that Foreign Languages Publishing House is getting out a
new and complete edition of MARX'S: Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts
of 1844. If this is so, we wish to place an immediate order for 200
copies- to be sent in shipments of no more than 100 copies each. Please
notify us a) when it will be published b) how many pages c) approximate
price and d) how soon we can expect to receive the books.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this letter.

Yours very truly,

Philip Frankford
New Era Books

May 12th, 1965

Moskva
Moscow, USSR

Gentlemen:

We wish to place an order for 300 (three hundred) copies of:

Yakhot: What Is Dialectical Materialism?

Please make certain that the gross value of shipment is not
over \$250.00.

We would appreciate receiving this shipment as quickly as
possible since we already have a number of orders for this book.

We would also appreciate receiving an air mail sample copy
so that we can write about it to our customers.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this letter.

Yours very truly,

Philip Frankford
New Era Books

NY 100-134637

(8) The following message was in partial code:

"CHILDS Restaurant southwest corner Lexington also 134 East 59th Street looks to me to be a very good drop. This place can be approached from any and all directions such as IRT local subway which staircase is BMT subways going on to Lexington platform. There are exits in two places as well. It is a restaurant, soda fountain and also a bar. Checked it very carefully and have already put a test magnet underneath wash basin on left side in gentlemen's room which is downstairs. If you like this type of drop we can use such places throughout Manhattan.

"SISTER: MAY" -----

"Check also the following sisters and see if you like them?"

"Shandon Bar & Restaurant
14 East 23rd
Men's Room in rear - wash basin left.

"SISTER LIL" -----

"White Rose Bar
Southwest Corner - 2 entrances
166 East 34th Street
Men's Room in rear - can go in without notice --
Wash basin left.

"SISTER MEG" -----

"White Rose Bar
Southwest corner 3rd Ave. and 40th Street
2 entrances - 154 East 40th.
Men's room next to telephone booth
Wash basin left side.

"SISTER BESSY"

The references to "Sister" above indicate drops.

NY 100-134637

- (9) The following message was in partial code:

"The following is a copy of CPUSA-CPSU code:"

Following this was a photographic reproduction of the code mentioned above, copies of which are enclosed herein for the information of the Bureau and Chicago.

- (10) The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPSU

"Can you please tell me how many do we, CPUSA, have left of our 1965 CPUSA quota for medical treatment to USSR.

"GUS HALL - MORRIS CHILDS"

- (11) The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPSU:

"Please have your Embassy in Helsinki issue visa to GENE DENNIS, JR.'s mother (photo below) for USSR. She will be at Peace Conference in July and from there travel to Moscow."

(It is to be noted that a photo of PEGGY DENNIS, mother of GENE DENNIS, JR., was attached to the above message.)

"Also travelling from Helsinki to USSR after Peace Conference in Helsinki will be PETTIS PERRY's wife ROSE. Please have your Embassy in Helsinki issue visa for travel to USSR."

- (12) The following message was in plain text:

"The acknowledgment phone number from me to you for June and July is EL 5-9004."



100-428091-4953

AST, JOHN
AFRICA
ALBANIA
ALBERTSON, BILL
ALGERIA
ALEX, JIM
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MARXIST STUDIES
AFTERNOON, HERB
ARGENTINA
ARRIVING, ARRIVED
BART, PHIL
BENT, ERIC
BLAIR, FRED
BLUM, MANNY
BOLIVIA

BOOKSTORE
BRAZIL
BUZICHNEY, LEONID ILYICH
BRITISH GUIANA
BROOKS, JACK
BRUSSELS
BULGARIA
CANADA
CASTRO, FIDEL
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN
CHAYA, ED
CHICAGO
CHILES, MORRIS
CHILE
CHINA
CHOU EN LAI
CIA
CLASS
CLOSED CHANNEL
COLOMBIA
COMMISSION/COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY
COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER
COMMUNIST PARTY, SOVIET UNION
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
CONGAGE
CONFERENCE/MEETING
CONTROL COMMITTEE
CONVENTION
COORDINATION

COPENHAGEN
CUBA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
DAVIS, BEN
DAVIS, SAM
DEPOSE
DELEGATE
DELEGATION
DENNIS, GENE JR.
DENNIS, TOMMY
DEPART, DEPARTING, DEPARTING
DESTINATION
DOBBS, BEN
DORIS, BEN
EAST GERMANY
ECUADOR
ELECTION
EMBASSY
FBI
FLIGHTING VISA
FLYNN, ELIZABETH GURLEY
FORUM
FOSTER, WILLIAM Z.
FREEDOM MOVEMENT
FREEDOMFAYS
GANNETT, BETTY
GAYNA
GREEN, GIL
GREEN, JAKE
HATTI
HALL, GUS
HARRIS, LEM
HEALEY, DOROTHY
HELSINKI
HO CHI MINH
HUNGARY
IMPERIALISM
INTERNATIONAL
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, N.C.
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
JACKSON, JAMES
JOHNSON, ARNOLD
JOHNSON, BEATRICE
JOHNSON, LONDON (Pres.)
KAUFMAN, MARY
KHOSROUZEY, N.S.
KLING, JACK
KOWGONOL

KOSYGIN, ALEKSEI NIKOLAYEVICH
KUCHNAREK
KUSHNER, SAM
LATIN AMERICA
LEAVING, WILL LEAVE, LEAVE, LEFT
LEWINGRAD
LIGHTFOOT, CLAUDE
LIMA, MICKLEY

PARK
PRAH
BOO
IFAP
GARR
BARK
EDEN
ACORN
VAL
CAP
CORN
CALF
KID
SAND
KUG
BGO
STABLE
PALE
THOR
AGAK
SPRING
PIER
RIVER
INLET
TUPT
REFERENCE
TITUS
COME
YARD
HUB
GOY
POND
FEP
GRUB
RUG
GNY
GAY
TWINE
LARS
BIED
COACH
BOKER
REX
KEN
OWL
BAND
STAINO

TURF
BAZ
SEACH
SPRUCE
FERCH
LOW
COUSIN
LAND
TOWN
AXEL
LOO
TAD
FTDO
SNORE
TOP
HOP
CASHIER
ANT
BRIEF/CASE
GRASS
NERO
ROCK
FLAME
EDDY
CARRY
BARR
BOOK
HORN
TOTO
BIRCH
BOOT
ORCHID
REEP
HOWK
NEEL
FLAY
VINE
DOVE
ZEB
KATIE
RYE
PAY
LEO
PARKER
TUSK
FOOT
ORNS

LONDON
LINDER, BY
LINTIN, JAMES
LINTIN
MAO Tse-tung
MARXIST-LENINIST
MAY 1st
MCCARRAN ACT
MEDICAL TREATMENT/REST
MEETING/CONFERENCE
MEMBERSHIP
MEXICO
MYERS, GEORGE
MORRIS, GEORGE
MORRIS, LESLIE
MOSCON
MOVEMENT
NABESIED, TOM
NATIONAL BOARD
NATIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-
SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NEEDLEMAN, ISIDORE G.
NEORO
NELSON, BURT
NEW YORK CITY
NORTH, JOE
NORTH VIETNAM
OFFICIAL, OFFICER
PARAGUAY
PARIS
PASSEPORT
PATTERSON, WILLIAM
PEACE
PERRY, PETTIS
PERU
PLEBIN
POLISH
POLITICAL AFFAIRS
PRAGUE
PREPARATORY CONFERENCE OF
MARCH 1, 1945
PROCTOR, ROSCOE
PROGRESSIVE LABOR
PUERTO RICO

RADIO
REGISTER
REHABITOV
REST/MEDICAL TREATMENT
ROBE
ROSEN, MILT
RUBIN, DANNY
RUMANIA
RUMANTSEY
SAMPSON, T.
SAINTO DOMINGO
SECRETARIAT
SEWTH ACT
SMITH, JESSICA
SOUTH AMERICA
SOUTH VIETNAM
SPRINGER
STACHEL, JACK
STRUGGLE
STUDENT
SUPREME COURT
THOMPSON, ROBERT
TODGHE, PAT
TODGHE, JIM
TRACHTENBERG, ALEX
TROTSKYITE
ZAGACONRESS
UNITED NATIONS
UNITED PARTY OF SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION
UNITED STATES
U.S.S.R.
VENEZUELA
VETERANS ABRAHAM LINCOLN
BATTALION
VISA
WALKY-TALKY
WARSAW
WASHINGTON
WEINBERG, WILL
WEST, JIM
WILLIAMS, ROBERT
WINSTON, HENRY
WINTERS, CARL
WINTERS, HELEN
WOPSI, ISADORE
WORK

WORKER (THE)
WORLD
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE
UNIONS (WFTU)
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
YOUTH
YOUTH FESTIVAL
YUGOSLAVIA
ZURICH

VILLAGE
ASH
IAKE
BUSH
POOP
CONY
VIM
PIRE
RULE
SUN
KEN
TEAM
PEBBLE
PICK
RING
JILL
MOSCON
RUC
ROAD
ARSON
REFEREE
KOE
TRAINOR
SAINT
HIGH
BASS
HAZEL
WFO
SAXON
STAR
WIZ
HAMLET
BEIT
PLUM
EBB
DELL
HATT
BAND
GULF
YORK
OFFICE
FISH
JERSEY
SALT
WIND

TUG
DRIVE
GAY
SDI
DOCK
MOLE
IMP
CREEK
BEEP
STEER
SANKA
BOM
BURRO
CARP
SOUND
CLAN
RAIL
RUC
ROD
PIO
OZEN
WHEAT
COLT
CAR
PAOR
RAS
ROBERT
SWAN
WATT
COVE
NEST
ZED
EAGLES
LANGUAGE
BAT
POOL
PAIR
TATO
CASE
PAIN
LAST
BITE
TULIP
FILL
RUG, TIDE

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 6/17/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 6/17/65, there were received from the Soviets via radio transmission four ciphered messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

"To Gus Hall

"1. Pettis Perry will stay in USSR for about a month more. After treatment in hospital he needs good rest. Then he will go to United States.

"2. Komsomol sent to U.S. Youth Festival Committee on May 31 by airmail invitation to USSR for two weeks for a delegation of 15 persons. Komsomol will pay their fare to Moscow and then to United States. Another invitation was sent to delegation from Student Coordinating Committee Non-Violent Action four persons.

"3. Consider it suitable to invite Gus Hall's family by USSR Women Committee. If you have no objection, committee will send a letter to your wife in a week.

100-428091-413 RB
 (3) - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM-RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931 Sub B (NIKOLAI TALANOV)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:rvs
 (8)

REC-10

100-428091-4954

JUN 22 1965

ST-107

Approved: L. F. M.

Sent _____

M

Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

65 JUN 29 1965

NY 100-134637

"4. Suller was in Moscow for a few days by invitation from Sovietische Heimland magazine."

For information re the above messages see NY airtel, dated 6/10/65.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 6/16/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies
 and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's
 statement captioned, "Information Regarding Possible Travel
 to Poland by Conrad Komorowski, Detroit, Michigan."

The information appearing in the enclosed
 informant's statement was orally furnished on 6/6, 13 and 15/65
 by CG 5824-S* to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN.

1-813RB
 3 - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 2 - Chicago
 (1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-60

RWH:sck
 (6)

REC-10/00-425091-4955

JUN 22 1965

51-107

ENCLOSURE

Approved: [Signature]
 05 JUL 2 1965
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

INFORMATION REGARDING POSSIBLE
TRAVEL TO POLAND BY CONRAD
KOMOROWSKI, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

On June 5, 1965, Helen Winter of the National Office, Communist Party (CP), USA, New York City, advised that Conrad Komorowski of "Glos Ludowy," Polish language newspaper published in Detroit, desired to travel to Poland. Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA, has approved this travel and accordingly the Poles were to be requested to invite Komorowski to Poland through their Polish Union of Journalists. Winter agreed to secure the necessary information which could be used in preparing a request to be presented to the Poles on the matter of Komorowski's travel.

On June 12, 1965, the following documents were received from Winter in line with her above promise and the verbatim text of those items, together with certain parenthetical inserts which have been added for additional clarity, was as follows:

Document #1

(Conrad Komorowski) wants to go to Poland for National Day of Liberation, July 22, from Helsinki, where he will be from July 10 to 17.

Wants to make a tour of Poland for intensive study of Polish life in all its aspects, with purpose of writing weekly articles for his paper ("Glos Ludowy"), and preparing material for pamphlet or book. Emphasis on personal interviews in all parts of the country. Will emphasize political aspects and also contrast the situations of workers, retired workers, poor farmers, etc., in the U.S.

Would like to stay there about 6 weeks, or possibly longer, to help better master the language (Polish) which now he understands but cannot speak well or write. Wants to use this experience for tour in the U.S. afterwards with aim of advancing friendly relations between peoples there and peoples in U.S. An aim also is

100-425071-4955

- 1 -

ENCLOSURE

to develop a Society of Friends of Poland which will involve English speaking Polish-Americans as well as persons outside the Polish-American field who favor Polish-American friendship, peaceful coexistence, broader cultural contacts, and all the other measures necessary to put a brake on the cold war.

Has agreement of his paper's editorial board on the general plan for the trip.

Member editorial staff of "Glos Ludowy" for 15 years; prior to that time, wrote a column from Chicago for the English (language) section (of paper).

Was directly involved in Polish work since 1940, when arrived in Chicago from N.Y. Was secretary of Polish work there from that time until he went to Detroit in 1950 to work full time on the paper.

Active in American Slav Congress in Chicago as secretary of the Chicago and then the National Polish American Labor Council. Represented the United Farm Equipment Workers, which later amalgamated with the United Auto Workers.

Was invited twice before (to Poland), once in 1950 and again later, but on both occasions was denied passport here. Would now like invitation from Polish Union of Journalists.

Document #2

6/7/65

Dear

After I got all of the material ready and put it in the mail, my husband (Carl Winter) raised some very pertinent questions and insisted that we could not be responsible for the behaviour of this person (Conrad Komorowski). People in the other country (Poland) told SN (Stanley Novak) that the reason he was not invited was because of his drinking.

I am leaving this with you just as is. I don't feel that I can go back through this whole business again with the people (Gus Hall) I spoke to prior to yours and my conversation.

I think that I would leave it that he has the ability, etc., but possibly he still has this drinking

problem, /personally I don't know how serious it is -- he has made promises to curb it/ and they will have to decide.

II. (Helen Winter)

Based on the above document, an informal statement was drawn up for the purpose of providing it to Jack Kling, a leading functionary of the CP of Illinois, in order that he could orally take this matter up with representatives of the Polish Consulate in Chicago. In this connection it will be recalled that in the past representatives of the Polish United Workers Party had agreed that it would be satisfactory to utilize Kling for contacts with them at their Chicago Consulate on Party matters between the CP, USA and the Polish United Workers Party. The text of this informal document to be used in connection with Kling's oral presentation at the Consulate was as follows:

Comrade Conrad Komorowski has been a member of our Party for nearly 30 years and is now a member of our Michigan State Committee. He desires to go to Poland for National Day of Liberation, July 22nd. Our leadership would like you to invite him to your country through the Polish Union of Journalists. He has planned this trip since 1950 but due to passport denials could not travel. Our Polish language paper Glos Ludowy, published in Detroit, and The Worker, published in New York City, expect him to write weekly articles in depth about developments in Polish society and gather material for preparations of pamphlet or book. Wants to tour Poland for study of Polish life in all aspects with emphasis on personal interviews. Will emphasize political aspects and contrast the situations of Polish and U.S. workers, retired workers, poor farmers, etc. Would like to stay about six weeks or longer, to master language which now he understands but cannot speak or write well. Will use this experience for tour of U.S. with aim of advancing friendly relations between Polish and U.S. peoples. Also aims to develop Society of Friends of Poland involving English-speaking Polish-Americans as well as persons outside Polish-American field who favor Polish-American friendship, peaceful coexistence, cultural contacts, and all other measures necessary to put a brake on the cold war.

Comrade Komorowski has been a member of the Editorial Staff of Glos Ludowy for 15 years; prior to that time wrote column from Chicago for English language section of paper; was Secretary of Polish work in Chicago from 1940 to

1950 when he went to Detroit to work full time on paper; active in American Slav Congress in Chicago as Secretary of Chicago and then National Polish-American Labor Council; represented United Farm Equipment Workers which later amalgamated with United Auto Workers.

Comrade Komorowski will first go to Helsinki July 10th through 17th for peace conference and then to Warsaw. Could you please arrange that Comrade Komorowski can pick up visa here in Chicago or in Helsinki if visa clearance does not come to Chicago before he leaves the U.S. We would appreciate your cooperation regarding Comrade Komorowski's first visit to Poland.

The above matter was discussed with Jack Kling on June 15, 1965. While Kling indicated he was somewhat hesitant to contact the Polish Consulate in Chicago at this time, he did agree to try and take this matter up with them. He explained that his hesitancy in going to the Polish Consulate was based on the fact that ever since the last Warsaw Ghetto meeting had been held in Chicago, the Polish Consulate has not been too happy with him. Their displeasure with him arose in part from the fact that the Polish Ambassador had been embarrassed at this meeting and forced to walk out of it. Kling then noted that if he had received this information a few days earlier, he could have sent word regarding his coming to the Consulate through a representative of a Polish group in Chicago who has close dealings with the Poles. This individual to whom Kling was referring was undoubtedly Kazimir Siuba.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *June*

DATE: June 15, 1965 *wj*

FROM : *AE* Downing

SUBJECT: *SOLO*
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 6/15/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time two messages, NR 467 GR 98 and GR 150, were intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosures

- 1 - ~~Mr. Belmont~~
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:drv
(8) *drv*

REC-10

ST-107

JUN 22 1965

3 ENCLOSURE

65 JUN 28 1965

INT. SEC. 1

6/15/65

NR 467, GR 98

6/15/65

38299 71895 24313 95942 62495 26702 42641 17309 66270 29110

42593 55772 01113 97796 02738 20163 12256 16946 70800 67534

95519 62459 50288 62957 33557 33431 05137 31339 59655 74155

00507 33234 58908 63085 54462 65547 37914 20881 72049 10757

95545 23945 04993 30875 89388 49786 37252 82457 51761 75072

05874 13939 97597 69096 69441 40756 99027 44581 67838 78121

84886 90274 28973 80713 55471 92762 35017 78007 78104 14419

87206 58287 68301 51271 21393 51902 09841 59422 89732 97261

25231 66728 74485 78604 80918 55114 02990 67290 71501 62371

01957 62356 99842 44473 58510 24733 44719 43068

FORMS, INC. NCR 810

WE WERE READY TO SEE YOU FOR COLOUR PRINTS TODAY, BUT TAKING I
NTO ACCOUNT YOUR LAST MESSAGE AND IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY CONFU-
SION WE THINK IT IS BETTER TO SEE YOU ON SECOND DATE MENTIONED
BY YOU ON JUNE 9#. PLACE IS NOT ONE HUNDRED TEN BUT ONE HUNDRE
D TWENTY. PLEASE CHECK IT ONCE MORE. IF EVERYTHING IS CLEAR A
ND YOU ARE READY TO SEE US ON THIS SECOND DATE CONFIRM BY PHONE
TODAY...

100-428091-4956
ENCLOSURE

NR 468 GR 150

6/15/65

10038 90567 91007 16113 49547 48910 87387 47260 90844 80009
82579 97259 08068 02799 77134 45840 20602 75376 47956 29072
03702 60869 63373 23696 30649 91465 22328 49184 82587 12393
94405 43456 61841 31507 23168 00765 62775 58252 53368 78332
43388 82829 99430 79143 58550 85888 88372 58257 03274 38100
61718 18472 15377 64266 80025 12824 61212 94363 83949 88295
38750 14391 82285 76142 80145 76592 77607 26316 51970 35320
79231 28453 56083 49814 85418 99267 14984 11809 38211 73630
68619 51376 26472 41354 63303 55474 28699 46018 81067 30057
48231 32467 07367 15738 22891 62779 84421 25548 77572 56604
36506 59869 80356 76736 48321 44323 31367 51335 81197 28649
49980 74522 18519 41366 14531 30627 35559 92412 46877 40186
54562 99382 09816 17110 45951 50537 03817 27604 18874 23529
91530 24481 22546 34143 86997 45785 15481 66605 36485 82337
09364 76906 97766 70696 40341 98075 59415 53477 57200 89697

N.C.R. CO. PRINTED BY DATAFOLD FORMS, INC. NCR 810

100 - 428091 - 4956
ENCLOSURE

TO BIRCH, STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. ANTANT IS THOROUGHLY WATCHING FOR TWO ^{FB} PERSONS, WHO ARE CLOSELY RELATED. ONE OF THEM HAS BLACK PLYMOUTH. ON JUNE 8TH HE VISITED BROOKLYN, ATLANTA CAFE AND CLINTON STREET AREA. HIS FRIEND HAS WHITE PLYMOUTH FURY #1965#. PLAT [REDACTED] THE SECOND PERSON LIVES IN BRONX BRONX WEST SIDE. PLEASE CHECK WHETH THEY ARE OR ARE NOT YOUR BIRDS. WE WOULD LIKE TO BE INFORMED ON YOUR INVESTIGATION RESULTS AND ON YOUR ACTIONS TAKEN DURING THIS INVESTIGATION IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO TAKE THEM INTO ACCOUNT DURING OUR OWN INVESTIGATION.

b6
b7C

100-428091-4956
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

(IS) 100-426091

BY LIAISON

Date: June 17, 1965
To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Subject: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - PARAGUAY

1 - Liaison
1 - Atkinson
1 - R. Putnam

The following was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

During the latter part of February, 1965, an individual who claimed to be the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Paraguay and who utilized the last name Carlisle (phonetic) made the following remarks:

General Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay, is attempting to consolidate his dictatorship. In order to create the impression that democracy still exists in Paraguay, he will permit some municipal elections in October, 1965. The purpose behind this action is to obtain additional loans from the United States. In an effort to form a united front against the Stroessner government, the Communist Party of Paraguay will unite with the Febrerista Party in these elections.

The Communist Party of Paraguay would like communist parties in Latin America and North America to send letters to the Government of Paraguay demanding that Antonio Maidana, Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Paraguay, be released from prison. Maidana is dying. He has been in prison for seven years and the Communist Party of Paraguay would like very much to obtain his release.

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

RCP:pah

60 JUN 24 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

61 JUN 18 1965

~~SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable informant. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/21/65 captioned "Solo" IS - C."

~~SECRET~~

Legat, Ottawa

June 21, 1965

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. Cotter
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. R. Putnam

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
INTERNAL SECURITY - CANADA**

There are enclosed three copies of a letterhead memorandum classified "~~Top Secret~~" and captioned "Communist Party of Canada," which relates to activities of William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and the proposed joint school of that Party and the Communist Party, USA.

You should promptly furnish a copy of the enclosed memorandum to your source in the [redacted]

At the time the memorandum is furnished to your [redacted] it should be emphasized that due to the sensitive nature of our sources it is essential that no distribution or use of our intelligence information be undertaken which would be likely to jeopardize the security of our sources.

Enclosures (3)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

RCP:pah
(7) *fah*

NOTE:

Plans have been made between the CPUSA and the Communist Party of Canada to have a joint Marxist training school in Canada in Fall of 1965. Approximately 10 students from each Party will be enrolled. School will be staffed by instructors from each Party and course of study will be three months. Previous information concerning this matter has been disseminated to [redacted]

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

H
ENCLOSURE

REC 33

EX-100

JUN 22 1965

65 JUN 28 1965 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

June 21, 1965

- 1 - Cotter
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - R. Putnam

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

The following information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

William Kashtan, General Secretary
Communist Party of Canada

William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, was scheduled to depart Canada on June 11, 1965, to spend some time in Moscow, Russia, and possibly to attend a congress of the Communist Party of Israel. Kashtan also expected to travel to East Germany during this trip abroad.

Communist Party, USA - Communist Party
of Canada Training School

The Communist Party of Canada has furnished the Communist Party, USA, a proposed outline for the joint training school to be held in Canada in the Fall of 1965. A copy of this outline is attached to this memorandum. Necessary arrangements for the joint school have been completed in that a site has been obtained and necessary funds to operate the school are available. No definite dates have been set for this school.

Enclosure
100-428091

RCP:pah:pdh
(10)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4958

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the sources (CG 5824-S* and NY 694-S*) who are of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from CGairtel 6/15/65 and NYlet 6/9/65 both captioned "Solo, IS - C." This letterhead memorandum is being disseminated by cover letter dated 6/21/65 to the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency. In addition, the letterhead memorandum is being sent to Legat b7D Ottawa, for transmittal to the [redacted] Additional information concerning the joint CPUSA - CP of Canada school has been previously disseminated to recipients of this memorandum.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Down*

DATE: June 17, 1965 *WCP*

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 6/17/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 418 GR 164, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

~~1 - Mr. Belmont~~

1 - Mr. Conrad

2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)

1 - Mr. Downing

1 - Mr. Newpher

1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:drv

(8)

REC-18

100-428091-4959

ST-113

JUN 23 1965

ENCLOSURE

65 JUN 28 1965

6/17/65

NR 418 GR 164

6/17/65

99594 43219 38933 98070 15402 78405 94471 51644 87332 93573.
75004 05569 40565 20472 11213 33567 34445 06091 54641 46804.
50881 73305 54110 35882 80608 02375 02464 89502 76348 93823
50247 65852 77094 52961 80332 27690 19625 14551 89274 37290
93540 62127 65965 84043 93630 68383 11086 95412 15903 65655
10885 90396 94902 23072 97572 42790 37849 49027 17013 49256
42653 34762 69184 39344 61681 81259 72277 79761 77916 20123
23238 64407 40626 04651 13758 54464 18485 59639 06931 53048
63221 82963 24358 81548 17675 90438 05343 87827 26093 52158
67177 19635 92077 69496 98992 89390 49776 09429 83052 92580
57062 50198 35906 35495 39698 96069 17477 03032 58596 93220
97676 99376 72043 99448 46968 22407 87296 43094 45820 26689
15013 23263 35992 60724 87456 32703 78043 97381 51423 44558
50911 48847 59636 32698 72399 55297 66259 02088 81482 27709
53522 50746 40289 27766 66852 21776 39458 96843 64168 26024
62682 80454 51715 40984 70800 42413 32069 70013 58263 57715
88086 02370 86146 58236

PRINTED BY DAYGOLD FORMS, INC. NCR 810

100-428091-4959
ENCLOSURE

TO BIRCH, #1#. BELL WILL STAY IN NEST FOR ABOUT A MONTH MORE, A
FTER TREATMENT IN HOSPITAL HE NEEDS GOOD SUN, THEN HE WILL GO
TO COVE, #2#. OHMS SENT TO COVE LAMB TWINE ON MAY #31# BY IRMA
IL INVITATION TO NEST FOR TWO WEEKS FOR A LAND OF #15# PERSONS
OHMS WILL PAY THEIR FARE TO HOTEL AND THEN TO COVE, ANOTHER I
NVITATION WAS SENT TO LAND FROM FIG COORDINATING TWINE NON-
VIOLENT ACTION FOR #4# PERSONS, #3#, CONSIDER ITS SUITABLE
TO INVITE BIRCH'S FAMILY BY NEST MOMENT TWINE, IF YOU HAVE NO OB-
JECTION, TWINE WILL SEND A LETTER TO YOUR WIFE IN A WEEK, #4#.
SULLER WAS IN HOTEL FOR A FEW DAYS BY INVITATION FROM SOVIET,
SHE HEIM LAND MAGAZINE 03338

NCR 810

106-428091-4959
ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

4
H
(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

b6
b7C

1 - Liaison
1 - R. Putnam

Date: 3 June 21, 1965

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
INTERNAL SECURITY - CANADA

Enclosed for your information is a memorandum captioned "Communist Party of Canada," together with its enclosure.

b6
b7C

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter of transmittal becomes unclassified.

Enclosures (2)

1 - Director (Enclosures - 2) BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since data in the attached memorandum is so classified. REC-18

RCP:pah
(6)

9 JUN 23 1965

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

65 JUN 28 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ST-113

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 6/16/65

Transmit the following in _____

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Re telephone call of Section Chief FRED BAUMGARDNER regarding travel of CARL WINTER to Rumania and Cuba and possible affect of this on Solo operation.

The ramifications of a projected travel by CARL WINTER and its possible affect on the Solo operation has been discussed with CG 5824-S*. Source noted that in a number of ways he was happy that he himself was not being compelled by GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, to undertake this travel at this time and that he did not believe that WINTER's travel to either Rumania or Cuba would result in a threat to the current Solo operation.

First of all, the source noted that WINTER does not like to travel and, in fact, was not entirely in favor of this travel now. He only agreed to attempt to go to Cuba because of HALL's insistence on this matter. He told CG 5824-S* that he did not relish the idea of going to the Soviet Union in order to travel to Cuba and that if he must travel to the Soviet Union he would make his stay there as limited as possible. WINTER had also told him that if he travelled he would make every effort to keep the over-all length of this trip to its minimum.

1-813 RA

3 - Bureau (RM)

1 - New York (100-134637) (RM)

1 - Chicago

RWH:mec
(5)

REC 4/100-428091-4961

JUN 24 1965

ST-113

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

C66506A JUN 28 1965

CG 134-46 Sub B

In regard to WINTER, CG 5824-S* personally feels that he is one of those individuals who would report to him fully on any pertinent developments which might have occurred during such a trip. WINTER relies heavily on CG 5824-S* and knows generally of CG 5824-S*'s standings with the leadership of the more important Parties in the international movement and of the trust that these Parties place in the source. He also feels that WINTER will undoubtedly attempt to arrange some pre-departure briefing session with him, and at this time he will have the opportunity to emphasize to WINTER the importance of informing CG 5824-S* of the results of this trip and also this will give him the opportunity to instruct WINTER as to the manner in which he should work and the conduct that he must follow. Source also noted that if there are, at the time WINTER travels, any matters which need to be taken up with the Rumanians or the Cubans he might use WINTER as his channel of communication.

In looking at the over-all picture, CG 5824-S* noted that the type of trip HALL is insisting that WINTER take could be one which might be politically unwise and which could affect the fraternal relationships of the Parties involved. It is for this reason that he is quite thankful that he is not going to be involved in the situation which potentially could reflect upon his own political capabilities and personal competence.

Specifically, CG 5824-S* noted the Russians may not look with pleasure on the CPUSA's sending a delegation consisting of WINTER to the Rumanian Workers Party (RWP) Congress. The Russians are extremely unhappy with the RWP "flirtation with the Communist Party of China" and with the position of the RWP in regard to certain problems in the international movement. In addition, the RWP's current display of nationalism and independence has caused considerable embarrassment to the CPSU.

The source then noted that at the time he first heard of the RWP's invitation to the CPUSA to send a delegation to the Congress, he had sent word back with HELEN WINTER for GUS HALL that he, the source, suggested as a forewarning that in his opinion he felt such a delegation was inadvisable because it could affect "bigger things" (future financial aid and future relations with the CPSU). He told HALL that the CPSU would certainly not pay the fare or expenses for such a delegation and that the CPUSA would have to bear this. He also warned HALL

CG 134-46 Sub B

that there is presently considerable animosity existing between the Rumanian and Cuban Parties and the Cubans could, in fact, reject a CPUSA visitor and in any case probably would be very unhappy in receiving and dealing with a CPUSA representative who had just visited Rumania. He wanted HALL reminded that the Cubans have sharp differences with the Rumanians in regard to international policies within the movement and were so upset with the Rumanians' action in stopping some anti-U.S. demonstrations in Bucharest that the Cubans withdrew all of their students who were attending schools in that country.

Source also noted that in his opinion while there is always a remote possibility of this trip having some affect upon the Solo operation, there is probably little that will be accomplished or learned by WINTER. He does not believe WINTER has any personal ambitions in connection with this trip and has no desire to usurp CG 5824-S*'s role and assume for himself a similar role in the CPUSA's international affairs.

Source, in concluding, noted that undoubtedly in the near future he himself will be undertaking another mission, one with broader, more specific and more important goals from which we, the Bureau, stand to gain far more. The objective of such a mission on his part would be to deal with the Russians and the CPSU rather than with lesser Parties like Rumania and Cuba.

In addition, he added that his own physical status plus the state of personal affairs, following three missions within the last six months, would have made it almost impossible for him to have prepared for or undertaken such a trip at this time as is being contemplated for WINTER.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 6/22/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 6/22/65, there were received from the Soviets via radio six ciphered messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

(1) "To GUS HALL

"Rumanian CP Conference is to start work on July 19. Instructions to give visa to CARL WINTER are sent to our Embassy in Rumania. WINTER is included in quota."

(Re above, see NY airtels 6/15/65, and 6/17/65, page 2.)

(2) "Your message is sent to BEATRICE JOHNSON. She is included in quota."

(Re above, see NY airtel 6/17/65, pages 4 and 5)

(3) "PEGGY DENNIS and ROSE PERRY are included in quota. They may receive visas in Helsinki."

(Re above, see NY airtel 6/17/65, page 7.)

1-813RB
 1-3 Bureau (RM)

- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM AM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub B (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
 (8)

9 JUN 24 1965

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUL 2 1965

Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-134637

(4) "Until now eight CP members already were in USSR. Taking into account forthcoming arrival of GUS HALL's family and four CP members mentioned above, your CP used 16 out of 23 places.

(Re GUS HALL's family above, see NY airtels 6/10/65, page 4, and 6/17/65, page 1.
Re quota above, see NY airtel 6/17/65, page 7.)

(5) "We hope to be informed on your plans in respect of sending to USSR Youth CP Delegation composed of 7 persons, CP delegation of CP members active in Negro movement-- 7 persons, and woman CP delegation--6 persons - for 2-3 weeks for each delegation. In respect of all other persons mentioned by you, instructions are given to our corresponding Embassies. They will be given necessary attention in Moscow.

(Re above, see NY airtel 4/23/65.)

"To JACK BROOKS

"You will be given new walky-talky with money. Put your walky-talky in case and give it to us."

(Re above, see NY airtel 6/17/65, page 1, and NY airtel 6/10/65, page 2.)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F.B.I.

Date: 6/18/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

CG 5824-S* on 6/17/65 provided the following for consideration by the Bureau and for some possible counteraction which could be developed from it if the Bureau saw fit:

This information was to the effect that on 6/15/65 he had met with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a leading functionary of the CP of Illinois. According to LIGHTFOOT, many people of the National Office of the CP, USA are now very concerned over the fact that there has been no information received concerning ROBERT THOMPSON's whereabouts following his appearance at the Veterans Day celebration in Moscow in early 5/65. WILLIAM PATTERSON, who had been in the Soviet Union and just returned to NY, when asked concerning THOMPSON's location, stated he did not know where THOMPSON was but the rumor that had been circulating was that he may have gone to North Vietnam.

If the foregoing is correct and THOMPSON had actually gone to North Vietnam, many in the national leadership of the Party feel that if this information comes out into the open, it could be extremely injurious to the Party. It is said that such a move by THOMPSON, if, in fact, it took place, and became public, could label the

③-Bureau (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago

RWH:MDW

(5)

REC-25

JUN 24 1965

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

INT-255.1

CG 134-46 Sub B

Party as traitors to their country. In addition, the Party might be accused of dealing with the enemy in the current "life and death struggle" and such publicity would have disastrous effects upon future litigation which might involve the CP, USA under the McCarran Act. They also feel that it might possibly hamper future legitimate travel by CP, USA members abroad.

Source then stated he felt that the foregoing could be of importance to the Bureau from several different aspects if it could be proven true and correct. First of all, if this travel of THOMPSON to North Vietnam can be proven and publicized, it would damage the CP, USA public image and it might enable the government to establish a basis for attempting to place some additional restrictions on travel of CP members abroad. Secondly, such information if found to be correct might result in more caution being utilized by the CP, USA, especially GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, in limiting the number of individuals they are sending abroad, some of whom undoubtedly may have desires or ambitions of becoming involved in dealing with foreign CPs, an area, up to now, generally reserved for the Solo operation.

Should the Bureau feel that some counteraction on the above is merited, the source stated that in order to protect his security, it is imperative that it be established from independent reliable sources that THOMPSON did actually travel to North Vietnam. He noted that he is not aware at this time of the extent to which this rumored information regarding THOMPSON is known within the CP, USA.

SAC, Chicago

6/22/65

Director, FBI (100-47736)

1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Mr. Reddy

JAMES EDWARD JACKSON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

mz
pt
Reurairtel 5/10/65 captioned "SOLO, Internal Security - C" transmitting an LHM regarding the trip of James Edward Jackson to the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Ghana. According to CG 5824-S*, Jackson spent eight to ten days in Ghana and although his trip was described as a "waste of time," Jackson reported to the Soviets upon his return to Moscow that Shirley Graham DuBois, an American citizen residing in Ghana, is actively working for the "Chinese" possibly in connivance with President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. The above information was transmitted under "Secret" classification to the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) by letter dated 5/20/65.

Attached is a copy of a letter from the CIA received by the Bureau on 6/15/65 in which CIA refers to Bulet dated May 20, 1965, and requests certain additional information relating to the allegation that DuBois and Nkrumah are working for the Chinese Communists and regarding the method by which, and the Soviet officials to whom, Jackson reported this information.

Also attached is a copy of an LHM dated 6/17/65 at New York, New York, captioned "Greater New York Labor Press Club, Internal Security - C," which sets out certain comments made by Jackson at a meeting on 6/16/65 sponsored by the Greater New York Labor Press Club which had been advertised in "The Worker" as featuring a report on Jackson's recent trip to Africa.

It is noted that Jackson's remarks regarding President Nkrumah of Ghana and regarding Shirley Graham DuBois do not indicate that these individuals are "working for the Chinese Communists." On the contrary, Jackson

Enclosures - 2

1 - New York

EBR:jas (7)

(1) - 100-428091 (SOLO)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED

87 JUN 24 1965

51 AUG 17 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-428091

Letter to Chicago
RE: JAMES EDWARD JACKSON

stated that most of the professors at ideological institutes and elementary schools in Ghana are Russian; that the courses are oriented toward the Soviet Union and to its ideology; and that Russia has supplied technicians and engineers to assist Ghana in its development.

You are instructed to discuss this matter with CG 5824-S* and to obtain any additional information they may possess regarding the first two paragraphs in the attached letter from CIA. Also obtain the informant's comments regarding the possible reasons why Jackson would have reported to the Soviets that Shirley Graham DuBois is working for the Chinese Communists, possibly with the connivance of President Nkrumah, and indicated during his remarks on June 16, 1965, that Ghana appears to be solidly in the camp of the Soviet Union. The third question in the letter from CIA regarding the dates of Jackson's trip to Ghana will be handled by the Bureau.

While the Bureau may decide not to furnish CIA any additional information even should such information be available to CG 5824-S*, it is felt that the apparently contradictory statements by Jackson regarding Ghana should be clarified to CIA in the event the informant has a logical explanation.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *June 23*

DATE: June 23, 1965 *neg*

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 6/22/65, the New York Office furnished the text of a message the informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- ~~1 - Mr. Conrad~~
1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:drv
RP
Aug 9
H

REC-25

100-428091-4964

JUN 25 1965

ENCLOSURE
65 JUN 29 1965
F46

6/23/65

REFEREE AND OHMS GAY URGENT. IN VIEW OF CRITICAL SITUATION
N GANN WILL AR CLAM TAKE PLACE. PLEASE TUG AT ONCE. OUR FULL
AND IS READY TO LEAVE COVE TODAY. BIRCH...

26847 34445 27631 08345 03421 68551 25966 20546 48790 50375
84896 38119 73992 87769 71861 12550 41441 49338 04418 82359
84577 53190 05927 25771 29383 94957 69847 23084 13684 68526
73295 44379 90967 98183 57365 57387 37864 46043 04234 49732
02133

100-428091-4964

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

DATE: 6/18/65

ReBulet dated March 2, 1965.

On June 17, 1965, as requested in reBulet, CG 5824-S* was contacted and shown a photograph of VLADIMIR SERGEEVICH VASILYEV which appeared in the Soviet Intelligence Album. Source at this time stated that VASILYEV is not the individual whom he met in Moscow during the 17th Solo Mission by the name of "VLADIMIR."

1-813 RB
②-Bureau (RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(3)

REC-41

9 JUN 25 1965

65 JUN 29 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *June*

DATE: June 22, 1965 *Weg*

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 6/22/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 284 GR 262, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- ~~1 - Mr. Belmont~~
 - 1 - Mr. Conrad
 - 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
 - 1 - Mr. Downing
 - 1 - Mr. Newpher
 - 1 - Mr. Paddock
- H*

RS HS:drv

may (8) Dec

100-428091-4966

9 JUN 25 1965

REC-41

ENCLOSURE
65 JUN 29 1965

6/22/65

NR 284 GR 262

6/22/65

95652 54493 99322 42490 12852 62412 69460 17191 18382 35549
11785 14787 16702 98747 26041 78195 01964 35395 59702 14097
70500 71085 68781 87494 10942 32190 92836 87089 88400 66251
00120 39796 99787 81999 59455 08081 70904 15892 42941 18084
79375 32429 89883 83467 30890 33133 71083 02161 93942 75696
42120 32093 45560 73941 28155 84856 64169 86282 51142 28263
13565 26352 70973 60345 40132 59420 27993 98732 43422 98358
51850 84969 37335 26235 72636 00648 75517 82958 42329 77390
53721 24936 09455 18464 48727 17185 69338 77598 19586 19878
14797 22793 86620 70624 77299 70079 25938 03895 30444 22043
70810 59932 42839 71049 06112 70494 55286 89793 96149 85630
08449 46166 99400 93607 60065 10526 11464 06672 45064 67606
91638 52908 64354 40338 62147 43674 22706 32626 77389 00977
48319 24631 18475 64132 12701 73293 87574 45839 78691 23007
43605 98117 26189 21273 77901 87860 23801 78179 31272 06488
28586 93756 84743 42145 44843 61854 58246 19813 75102 35411
61123 82065 66434 82525 18718 25638 52519 08231 45671 38296
61655 81635 03344 21143 76984 67768 94475 22427 81420 47288
15810 32594 11992 73031 67262 78918 66515 77908 93630 74410
27651 75869 60455 38594 62560 48793 84225 62907 46090 50765
08274 70817 33033 21108 70950 02735 31479 75757 92855 48637
22072 75828 69432 79696 92579 83704 21009 83303 77285 22722
94611 49217 13059 84075 09274 92602 70979 38416 48225 64665
06889 43786 53236 38359 04990 55548 92233 34772 55876 78979

FORM 90
PRINTED BY DATAFORMS, INC.
PAPER PATENTED BY N.C.R. CO.

100-428091-4966
ENCLOSURE

57329 65515 11230 33838 20981 72218 99228 10948 37560 69249
75196 16021 76024 89168 15506 65137 28969 37410 30433 41234
88432 37397

TO BIRCH, #1#, CREEK LANE KENI STO START WORK ON JULY #19#, IN
STRUCTIONS TO GIVE LUGGAGE TO BULB ARE SENT TO OUR CASHIER IN
CREEK, BULB IS INCLUDED INTO QUOTA, #2#, YOUR MESSAGE IS SEN
T TO FAY, SHE IS INCLUDED INTO QUOTA, #3#, PEGGY DENNIS *PEG
GY DENNIS AND ROSE PERRY *ROSE PERRY ARE INCLUDED INTO QUOT
A, THEY MAY RECEIVE LUGGAGE IN REEF, #4#, UNTIL NOW EIGHT BI
RDS ALREADY WERE IN NEST, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT FORTHCOMING A
RRIVAL OF BIRCH'S FAMILY AND FOUR BIRDS MENTIONED ABOVE YOU
RLANE USED #16# OUT OF #^{2,3}777# OF PLACES, #5#, WE HOPE TO BE INFO
RMED ON YOUR PLANS IN RESPECT OF SENDING TO NEST FULL LANE LAN
D COMPOSED OF #7# PERSONS, LANE LAND OF BIRDS ACTIVE IN HIGH
OVEMENT, #7# PERSONS AND WOMEN LANE LAND, #6# PERSONS FORTH
O-THREE WEEKS EACH LAND, IN RESPECT OF ALL OTHER PERSONS MEN
TIONED BY YOU INSTRUCTIONS ARE GIVEN TO OUR CORRESPONDING C
ASHIERS, THEY WILL BE GIVEN NECESSARY ATTENTION IN HOTEL, T
OSPRING, YOU WILL BE GIVEN NEW BAT WITH COLOUR PRINTS, PUT YO
UR BAT IN CASE AND GIVE IT TO US.

100-42809L-4966
ENCLOSURE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 6/24/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

ReNYairtel, 6/24/65, reporting result of meeting between NY 694-S*, and his Soviet contact NIKOLAI TALANOV.

At a meeting with his Soviet contact NIKOLAI TALANOV on 6/23/65, at 120 Wall Street, NYC, NY 694-S* gave to the latter a roll of microfilm containing a number of messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

1. The following message was in ciphered code:

"Central Committee and Komsomol Reshetov. Urgent"

"In view of critical situation in Algeria, will World Youth Festival take place? Please radio at once. Our youth delegation is ready to leave United States today.

"GUS HALL"

1-813RB
 3- BUREAU (RM)
 1- CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1- NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
 1- NY 105-14931 Sub C (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
 1- NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd
 (8)

REC-38

100-428091-4967

9 JUN 28 1965

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

65 JUL 14 1965

INT. SEC. 1
 110

NY 100-134637

2. The following message was in plain text:

"June 21, 1965

"CCCPSU

"I send the following to you because of its urgency and because time is of the essence. It would be important to me to have an immediate answer.

"We are pleased to let you know that one of the leading writers and lecturers, who is devoted to the cause of peace and freedom in the United States, has agreed to attend and to participate in the Helsinki World Peace Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament to be held July 10-16, 1965. This is Dr. Herbert Aptheker, the author of some 18 volumes published in the United States on Negro history, Negro freedom movement, Marxism, history in the USA during the period of the Civil War, history in the United States after the Civil War, the fight against U.S. imperialism, etc. He is today one of the most popular lecturers, especially in this current period, in the colleges and universities, and with the students in the field of civil rights, Marxism, and the fight for freedom and in the struggle for world peace. He is, as you know, the foremost scholar and historian in our country. His writings have appeared in many journals throughout the world in these last two decades. He is currently heading AIMS (American Institute for Marxist Studies) in which are gathered around him noted scholars, intellectuals and university professors in the field of Marxism in the U.S. He undoubtedly could present the finest thoughts and contributions of any of the delegates from our country.

"We strongly suggest Dr. Aptheker be given a major part among the speakers to a plenary session in this most important of world peace conferences whose contribution will probably represent the upsurge of peace expressions within the U.S.A. His participation and contribution in this world peace conference will enrich totally the objectives and aims of this congress for world peace and freedom.

"Dr. Herbert Aptheker, through his writings and lectures in the last several decades has contributed more to the thoughtful and active sectors of the peace advocates in our country. His opponents, as well as his friends, repeatedly recognize and pay great respect to his scholarship and great activity in this most

NY 100-1 34637

"important struggle - the struggle for peace and freedom. In this he has received national recognition especially from the consistent fighters for peace and freedom, from the freedom fighters, and overwhelmingly from the many tens of thousands of students throughout our broad land. He symbolizes the determination of fighters anywhere against war, against U.S. imperialism.

"Dr. Herbert Aptheker has just published his 18th volume which deals with democracy and Marxism. This he accomplished in his 50th year, July 1965.

"Not only are Dr. Aptheker's lectures known in the United States but in all countries throughout the hemisphere and in the countries of socialism as well as in the countries of capitalism. Particularly were they noticed in the last congress against nuclear warfare which was held in Japan.

"We are particularly anxious that Dr. Aptheker participate directly in the plenary sessions of this congress and also in other fashion and capacity as an authoritative spokesman representing the Marxist progressive broader views. We have full confidence in him and highly recommend him and give you our assurances that these contributions of Dr. Aptheker will be fully appreciated particularly since he comes from the country which is the heart of world imperialism. In this event, if he is needed for other lectures in Finland or after the congress, he will make himself available to the congress and to you and you should feel free to consult with him. Also if there is a need for consultation with him he will be most willing to help in any capacity to serve the program of the world peace council.

"GUS HALL"

3. The following message was in partial code:

"This is a photo of ROSE PERRY who will travel with [redacted] and will pick up her visa at your Helsinki Embassy. She requests if it is possible that her husband did not depart from Moscow until she can see him in Moscow when she arrives soon after the Helsinki Peace Conference."

Beneath the above message there was a photograph of ROSE PERRY.

NY 100-134637

4. The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU - June 22nd

"GUS HALL again wishes to stress the importance of the Algerian situation and as to whether or not there will be any change in the World Youth Festival, for in a matter of hours the first USA youth delegates are leaving for their first stops such as Paris and London and then on to Algiers. He stressed that he must hear from you as soon as possible on this (radio) and also can you, if possible, give him an idea as to what is happening in Algeria, which will be of great help here.

"MORRIS CHILDS"

5. The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU

"The delegation of seven CPUSA youth would have first to go to the World Youth Festival at Algiers and then to the USSR as guests in Moscow. This is unfortunate, but these seven CPUSA youth will be most involved with the delegates in and at the World Youth Festival and just cannot leave them in the midst of this most important event. We are sure that you can understand this and regret if this is causing a problem. The names will follow soon.

"GUS HALL"

6. The following message was in partial code:

"CPUSU

"The following comrades of our CPUSA will be traveling in the next weeks to the USSR as guests of the CCCPSU. In order to save valuable time and not wait until the very last minute, it would be best if you instruct your Washington, D.C. embassy to have visas available for them. When we have the exact dates of their arrivals and departures, we will let you know in advance. Also in what capacity they will go to the USSR (as activists or as guests of the CCCPSU).

"GUS HALL

NY 100-134637

(The information contained in the parentheses has been added by the NYO to identify the individuals mentioned.)

PPH "MAX MILLER (Bufile 100-232715; Los Angeles file 100-24384)
PPH MARIAN MILLER (Bufile 100-226015; Los Angeles file 100-23111)

PPH - CARL WINTER
PPH BEN DOBBS *b6*
PPH AL RICHMOND *b7C*
PPH THOMAS DENNIS

PPH [REDACTED]
PPH MILFORD SUTHERLAND

(These are CPUSA functionaries whose identities are well known to the Bureau)

"Attorneys

b6
b7C

PPH [REDACTED]
PPH (This person is possibly identical to one [REDACTED]
an attorney, from Baltimore, Maryland. New York file [REDACTED]
contains a paucity of information and therefore no identification
can be made at this time. [REDACTED] no Bureau file available.
Baltimore file number is [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

PPH "JOSEPH FORER
PPH [REDACTED]

(JOSEPH FORER is an attorney from Washington, D.C., who has worked for the CPUSA in the past on legal matters.)

"Activists

Kutler
Ed
F "BERNARD ADES (Bufile 100-25013; NY file 100-12481)
DORA ADES (Bufile 100-427541; NY file 100-133481)
JEAN SCHERMER (Bufile 100-359325; NY file 100-68934)
JOSEPH EELSHIN (Bufile 100-85552; NY file 100-46469)
[REDACTED] of the above)

"Add to this list also Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER who will pick up his visa at the embassy at Helsinki."

NY 100-134637

7. The following message was in partial code:

"It would be good if I could see and talk with you at Uncle Elliott on Wednesday, July 7, at 7:05 p.m. There are several items to talk about.

"Jack Brooks."

8. The following message was in plain text:

"Uncle Elliott next, Sister Carol next."

The above refers to the next personal rendezvous and drop, respectively.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM : LEGAT, OTTAWA (105-684) C.

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
INTERNAL SECURITY - CANADA

DATE: June 24, 1965

ReBulet dated June 21, 1965, which enclosed three copies of a letterhead memorandum classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ and captioned COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA, which relates to activities of WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and the proposed joint school of that Party and the Communist Party, USA.

This is to advise that two copies of this memorandum were personally delivered to [redacted] At the time of delivery he was advised that due to the sensitive nature of the Bureau's sources it is essential that no distribution or use of our intelligence information be undertaken which would be likely to jeopardize the security of our sources.

30 JUN 30 1965

EXP-PROC

EX-100

REC-15

100-423091-4967 X

3 - Bureau (RM)
(1 - Liaison direct)
1 - Ottawa
MLI/pcn
(4)

INT. SEC.

65-100-1055

ROUTE ^{FBI} IN ENVELOPE

Date: 6/24/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

Buffington
Shapiro (cont)
Whitely

On 6/23/65, pursuant to previously made arrangements, NY 694-S* met his Soviet contact NIKOLAI TALANOV in the men's room on the 7th floor of 120 Wall Street, NYC, where they exchanged suitcases. The suitcase of the informant contained a Johnson walky-talky which he was returning to the Soviets for repair, and the suitcase of the Soviet contained \$150,000 in fifty and twenty dollar bills, and a Johnson walky-talky to be given to the informant in exchange for the one that the informant was returning to the Soviets.

According to NY 694-S*, there was no conversation during the meeting, but the Soviet handed to NY 694-S* a piece of paper which, according to precedent, should have contained thereon a telephone number which the informant would ring at 7:05 p.m. to indicate that he had been able to transfer the money to his office without incident. Apparently the Soviet made a mistake with respect to the piece of paper given to the informant, for the paper given the informant was part of a newspaper on which was written:

1-813RB

- 3 - BUREAU (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931 Sub C (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd
 (8)

REC-38 100-428091-4968

9 JUN 28 1965

Approved: *[Signature]*
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUL 8 1965

EX-100

[Signature]

NY 100-134637

"Air vent valve - RP 1784 - \$1.50
Electric Steam Radiator Company"

The informant intends to return this paper to TALANOV, since he believes that it was a reminder that the latter should make a purchase.

The above-mentioned \$150,000 consisted of ^{1 2/3} ~~\$150~~,000 in \$50 bills and \$30,000 in \$20 bills. The serial numbers on these bills will be checked against lists of currency issued to Soviet establishments in NYC and Washington, D.C. and if such bills are identified, the Bureau will be advised to that effect.

Further details with respect to the meeting between NY 694-S* and TALANOV are being reported by separate airtel.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

6/29/65

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Reddy
1 - R. Putnam

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 6/24/65 which contains a list of Communist Party members expected to travel abroad within the next several months.

If not already done, New York should advise appropriate offices of origin in each case under individual captions to be alert for travel abroad by the subject. WFO should be requested to check records of the Passport Office on each individual and place appropriate stops if no passport application is located. Include cautionary statements utilized in the Solo case.

For assistance of New York Bufiles reflect the following concerning the individuals listed. Max and Marian Miller are handled by Los Angeles. [redacted] is handled by Detroit. [redacted] is handled by Baltimore. Joseph [redacted] (not [redacted] as in reairtel) Forer are handled by WFO. Information concerning the Communist Party, USA, functionaries set forth in reairtel is available in New York files.

RCP:pah
(6)

NOTE:

Reairtel sets forth information from CPUSA to be transmitted to the Soviets by our Solo operation. Although the standing instructions in the Solo case require that New York advise the office of origin concerning travel of individuals to the Soviet Union under individual caption because of the large number involved, it is believed that New York should be reminded of these instructions.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 2
JUN 28 1965
COMM-FBI

REC-41

9 JUN 29 1965

65 JUN 30 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

DATE: 6/23/65

ReBulet dated March 10, 1965, concerning information received by the Bureau from the Central Intelligence Agency relative to certain points made in discussion with Finnish Communist leaders by ALEKSEY BULYAKOV, Deputy Chief, International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

On June 17, 1965, this matter was discussed with CG 5824-S* by SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE. At this time CG 5824-S* advised that ALEKSEY BULYAKOV, mentioned above, is most probably identical with (FNU) BELIKOV, Deputy to BORIS N. PONOMAREV, a Secretary and Head of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, contact with whom has been reported by CG 5824-S* in the past. At that time BELIKOV was filling in and performing the duties of VITALY KORIANOV, Chief Deputy, in the International Department.

Relative to the significance of the points set out in reBulet, CG 5824-S* commented as follows:

- 1) Class warfare is dangerous and undesirable.

This statement is wrong. No communist would raise anything like it--not even the rank and filers would do so, let alone a communist leader.

- 2) Soviets favor freer competitive markets.

Surely they would, because of the fact that they could probably undersell the competition. An example of this is the recent charge that the Soviet Union has been "dumping" crab meat on the market in New York.

- 3) Force and violence concept is still valid in underdeveloped countries.

This statement is not altogether right. A trained communist would interpret this question as saying that you may have to use either method or both methods. Previous

1-513 RB
②-Bureau (RM)
1-Chicago

65 JUL 1965
(3)

6 JUN 29 1965

communist statements on this subject have pointed out that it might be necessary to use force in those highly developed countries having a strong military. No trained Marxist would use exactly the phraseology used in the above statement. Actually, a communist would consider the statement wrong because of the fact that communist statements in the past specifically referred to "highly developed countries," not underdeveloped countries.

4) It is stupid for communists to tear down institutions and traditions already developed in Finland. Finland should not return to a one-party system.

Certainly, in general, it would be stupid to tear down traditions, but I do not know enough about the Finnish system to comment specifically. Relative to a Finnish return to a one-party system, the Soviet Union would, of course, not find this desirable. There are a number of strong parties in Finland and the dominant party is the Social Democratic Party which is the most anti-communist party in Finland. A one-party system would mean rule by the social democrats who are the most strongly anti-communists.

5) Socialism will be a long-time coming to Western Europe, but it will come. However, communists will not be the sole leaders.

This statement is O.K., but it is not presented properly in Marxist terms. It would be more properly stated that communists have given up the idea of establishing a socialist state with a monopoly or sole hegemony of leadership.

6) Each CP must decide on its own how socialism will be built in its own country.

By itself, this statement is O.K., but stated properly it should be phrased that based upon the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, a CP would decide, on the basis of the class, forces, and social conditions, how it will build a socialist society.

7) CPs must cooperate with the social democrats.

This statement would be correct except for the word "must." The CP is not cooperating with the social democrats in Finland, for example.

CG 134-46 Sub B

8) The majority of the working class in Western Europe is following the social democrats.

This is quite possible, but I really don't know. In France the social democrats are a big party. In West Germany it is possible that the social democrats may be the next ruling party. In the Scandinavian countries this is definitely true and it is also true in England.

9) One of the communists' greatest errors was condemning the progressive elements and trying only to create conditions for communist revolution.

This statement is also not right. From the point of view of Marxism, this statement means nothing. What was probably meant was that the communists should avoid sectarianism and should consider the demands of the people and especially the progressive demands of the population. The mistake in Finland was probably the one-sided approach of the communists and their failure to support a united front. However, they have now corrected this.

10) Communism cannot create conditions for civil war and revolution as in previous years.

This statement is also wrong. A communist leader would not put it in this manner. They would say again that there must be objective conditions for civil war and revolution. Communists cannot create these conditions subjectively and lead the people and hope to win.

Best copy
available.

CC, Chicago (154-1772) (154-200) (154-42)

6/23/65

Director, FBI (100-44374) (61-7535) (100-263711)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shaw
- 1 - Mr. Donohue

Reurlet 6/10/65.

Authority is granted to continue the cover company operated for the informant as recommended in report and to spend up to \$10,000.00, effective July 1, 1965, for this purpose.

In order that this cover will remain effective, cover company should make every effort to increase sales and make certain there is every indication of a profitable venture. The cost of the operation should be reduced by retaining any gross profit thereby attaining the amount needed from the Bureau to maintain the operation. You should continue to afford this most important operation your undivided attention and keep the Bureau advised of any changes and problems in connection therewith.

NOTE:

See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 6/22/65, captioned "Arisco Sales (Cover Company for Solo Operation), JDD:pjn.

JDD:pjn
(12)

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
170 JUL 1 1965

DUPLICATE YELLOW

65 JUL 8 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-440374 47

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Wick ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
Felt ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: June 24, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Special Agent in Charge, Roney, of our New York Office advised late in the afternoon of 6/23/65 that the Soviets had delivered the sum of \$150,000 to the Communist Party, USA, at 2:40 p.m. on 6/23/65. This money was in 10- and 20-dollar bills.

According to Roney, this money was delivered to NY 694-S* at an agreed upon location (the 7th floor of 120 Wall Street, New York City) by Nikolai Talanov. Talanov is a member of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations who has been identified as a KGB (Soviet Committee for State Security) agent.

This makes a total of \$518,440 which the Communist Party, USA, has received this year from the Soviets. Since 1958, the Soviets have given the Communist Party, USA, \$2,957,483. This money is used to finance the activities of the Party in the United States.

ACTION:

The \$150,000 just received is being processed by our New York Office. Serial numbers of the bills will be noted and a representative number will be checked to determine whether they are counterfeit.

100-428091

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. R. Putnam

RCP:pah
(6)

REC-40

100-428091-4971

JUN 30 1965

65 JUL 2 1965

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 6/28/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for New York one copy of an informant's statement captioned, "Information Concerning Possible Travel of Anthony Krchmarek and [redacted] to Rumania."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN on 6/26-27/65.

Cleveland is being advised by separate communication of intended travel on the part of KRCHMAREK and [redacted]

100-413RB

ENCLOSURE

(3)-Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)

2-Chicago

(1 - A) 134-46- Sub B, 66)

RWH:MDW

(6)

REC 8

100-428091-4972

2 JUL 1 1965

Approved: _____

65 JUL 14 1965 Special Agent in Charge.

Sent _____ M Per _____

INFORMATION CONCERNING POSSIBLE TRAVEL
OF ANTHONY KRCHMAREK AND [REDACTED] TO
RUMANIA

b6
b7c

On June 25, 1965, Phil Bart, who is now a leading functionary in the Communist Party (CP) of Ohio, advised that Anthony Krchmarek is scheduled to go abroad and will accompany Carl Winter to Rumania as part of the CP, USA delegation to the Rumanian Workers Party Congress scheduled for mid-July, 1965. Krchmarek [REDACTED] wants to accompany him and this matter has been taken up with the National Office, CP, USA. The National Office has approved her going but has stated she must pay her own fare and expenses. [REDACTED] has only one week off from work for such travel and, therefore, would not accompany Krchmarek beyond Rumania.

b6
b7c

Bart also advised that this trip for Krchmarek and arrangements to accompany Carl Winter came as a surprise to both him as well as Krchmarek. He stated Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, USA, sent instructions to Krchmarek through Arnold Johnson that Krchmarek was to be part of this delegation. Johnson had also indicated that Krchmarek would be gone for a number of weeks and would probably visit some other places, including the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

According to Bart, Krchmarek has good connections with the Czechs and knows their language. When Czech officials from Washington come to the Cleveland area, they are frequently guests at Krchmarek's home. In view of these good relations, the Czechs would probably be willing to take care of a stay for Krchmarek in their country.

Bart noted he raised this matter at this time in order that the necessary Parties abroad could be advised of this travel and to see if something could be done abroad to take care of Krchmarek when he visits the various socialist countries, particularly Czechoslovakia. It was also raised for the additional purpose of putting such Parties on alert to the fact that Krchmarek would be traveling.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 6/29/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

ReCGairtel dated 1/12/65 with enclosed LHM relating to YURI SERGEOVICH IVANOV, and CIA memo dated 4/12/65 captioned "YURI SERGEOVICH IVANOV," transmitted to Chicago by BuR/S.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "YURI SERGEOVICH IVANOV, INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished on 6/18/65 by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~SECRET~~" since it contains information furnished by CG 5824-S*, a very highly placed source furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. The unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein would, by its nature, tend to identify CG 5824-S* as the source, jeopardizing his security, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to provide additional security to the source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C., 8/13/65. Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago
RWH:MDW

AGENCY C.I.R.

FEL. RYD

DATE FOR

NEW FOR SENT

WES/65

6 JUL 1 1965

Approved: (5)

65 JUL 8 1965

Special Agent in Charge BY



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

June 29, 1965

~~SECRET~~

YURI SERGEOVICH IVANOV, INTERNATIONAL
DEPARTMENT, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

A source, who has furnished reliable information
in the past, in June, 1965, advised as follows:

Russia In April, 1965, it was learned that Yuri Sergeovich
Ivanov, had not been assigned to the Diplomatic Staff of the
Soviet Embassy in Israel. Instead, Ivanov has been placed
in charge and given the full responsibility for the handling
of Israeli affairs for the Central Committee, Communist Party
of the Soviet Union (CPSU). He now heads the Israeli Section,
International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, and main-
tains office space and has a private office in the Central
Committee building, CPSU, Moscow. Ivanov's name appears
on the door to his office which is an indicator that this
position is of some rank.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4973

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	
DeLoach	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

TO : Mr. Conrad *PC*

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO

DATE: June 29, 1965

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable Confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 6/29/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 629 GR 126, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:drv

(8)

REC-40

6 JUL 2 1965

65 JUL 8 1965

6/29/65

NR 629 GR 126

6/29/65

94901 64442 76306 43176 62947 50249 08453 48782 00017 25620
95747 35655 32264 39613 64706 57177 65318 84877 38724 46130
40768 02911 59600 66778 99102 29083 02439 76134 43716 40375
61788 47274 60094 59813 16364 43269 35502 55678 37100 49497
53526 11651 54971 49849 92931 05172 65197 29415 60897 89908
53425 59969 38396 73765 44793 70425 88757 64769 43865 20761
16720 63974 08128 10455 68876 77154 71763 47281 97569 01163
99540 67356 59058 99607 26362 50569 69098 40521 35636 13433
67447 55837 17363 83239 48606 52061 11163 81429 89036 09891
46630 62928 47878 65685 18780 70328 93261 04361 93824 28106
91787 14785 66305 20348 76267 91890 14305 55664 42507 19368
66239 85330 95805 85735 15848 71177 47900 01849 96706 22564
28606 80895 80207 34015 83067 37555

TO BIRCH, #1#, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT SITUATION IN GANNI IS NO
T CLEAR NOW FULL ORGANIZATIONS ARE CONSIDERING QUESTION OF
TRANSFERING LAMB TO ANOTHER COUNTRY, YOU WILL BE INFORMED A
S SOON AS DECISION IS TAKEN, #2#, IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US WHY A
T 7/7/65 PURPOSE OF NEW GROUP OF YOUR BIRDS VISIT TO HOTEL, DO TH
EY GO FOR SUN (ACCORDING TO YOUR QUOTA) YOU MAY SEND EIGHT PERS
ONS MORE, OR DO YOU SEND THEM INSTEAD OF A WOMEN OR A HIGH LAND T
HETWE INVITED, #30#, BELL WILL WAIT FOR HIS WIFE IN HOTEL.

ENCLOSURE

100-428091 4974

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 6/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 6/29/65, there were received from the Soviets, via radio, three ciphered-coded messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

1. "To Gus Hall:

In view of the fact that situation in Algeria is not clear now, youth organizations are considering question of transferring youth festival to another country. You will be informed as soon as decision is taken."

Regarding above, see NY airtel, 6/24/65, pages 1 and 3.

2. "It is not clear to us what is the purpose of new group of your CP members visit to Moscow. Do they go for rest (according to your quota you may send 8 persons more) or do you send them instead of a women or Negro delegation that we invited."

Regarding above, see NY airtel, 6/24/65, pages 4 and 5.

1 - BUREAU (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931 Sub C (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41) REC-26

ACB:mfd
 (8)

6 JUL 2 1965

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUL 8 1965

ST-100

REC-26

100-428091-4975

NY 100-134637

3. "PETTIS PERRY will wait for his wife in Moscow."
- Regarding above, see NY airtel, 6/24/65, page 3.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub F)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

DATE: JUN 30 1965

ReBulets dated May 4, 1960, and June 9, 1965,
and CGlet dated June 3, 1965.

ReBulet dated May 4, 1960, instructed Chicago
to set forth a monthly accounting of all receipts and
disbursements of Solo and CP, USA Reserve Funds in the
possession of CG 5824-S*.

ReBulet dated June 9, 1965, suggests that the
amounts of \$4,542.00 received from the "World Marxist
Review," Prague, Czechoslovakia, and \$223.00 received as
dues payment from the WHEELERS and VAFIADES', Prague,
(as noted in reCGlet) were to be considered CP, USA
Reserve Funds rather than Solo Funds. Accordingly, the
\$4,542.00 received from the "World Marxist Review" is
now being considered CP, USA Reserve Funds and will be
included in the opening balance of such in this communi-
cation. In connection with the amount of \$223.00, no
change is being made since this money has already been
disbursed by the source.

Balance of funds in possession of
CG 5824-S* as of May 31, 1965

Solo

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Mid-America National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois (this money trans-
ferred from American National Bank,
Chicago, 5/31/65)

\$32,000.00

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois

26,209.89

- 1-Bureau (RM)
- 2-New York (RM)
- (1 - 100-134637) (SOLO)
- (1 - 100-128861) (CP, USA - Reserve Funds)
- 1-Chicago

REC 45 100-428091-4976

17 JUL 6 1965

65 JUL 1 1965
(5)

CP, USA Reserve Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois

\$ 4,692.00

Total

\$62,901.89

Additions

Solo

None.

CP, USA Reserve Funds

From GIL GREEN through HELEN WINTER
as repayment of loan made 4/65 in
USSR from CP, USA funds

\$ 200.00

From CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, 6/26/65, as a
partial repayment of loan from CP
funds made previously

40.00

Total

\$ 240.00

Disbursements

Solo

On 6/18/65 to CG 5824-S* as
reimbursement for "out of
pocket payments" (personal
funds) made on behalf of CP,
USA and broken down as follows:

On 1/29/65 to LOU DISKIN,
Modern Book Store, Chicago,
for books and related
material sent to CPSU and
CPCZ

\$ 20.00

On 2/5/65 to LOU DISKIN,
Modern Book Store, Chicago,
for books and related
material sent to CPSU and
CPCZ

100.00

CG 134-46 Sub F

On 2/17/65 to LOU DISKIN,
Modern Book Store, Chicago,
for books and related material
carried abroad on 18th Solo
Mission \$ 100.00

On 5/17/65 to LOU DISKIN,
Modern Book Store, Chicago,
for books and related material
sent abroad to CPSU and CPCZ 50.00

On 5/18/65 for books provided
to HARRY CANTOR, Chicago, to
carry to representatives, CPCZ
and SUPG 27.00

On 5/18/65 for ballpoint pens,
refills, and miscellaneous gadgets
provided HARRY CANTOR to carry to
representatives, CPCZ and SUPG 7.00

On 5/18/65 for purchase of blouse
and hose to be carried by HARRY
CANTOR to wife of CPCZ representa-
tive 10.00

On 5/18/65 to GUS HALL per his
request while in Los Angeles 750.00

5/17-19/65 for expenses of GUS
HALL including meals, hotel,
transportation, etc., at Los
Angeles 50.00

On 5/18/65 for expenses of round-
trip air fare for PEGGY DENNIS
from San Francisco to Los Angeles,
meals, and transportation at Los
Angeles 50.00

On 5/28/65 to [REDACTED]
for expenses of Chicago stay
5/28-31/65 70.00

On 5/31/65 to [REDACTED]
for bus fare to New York and San
Francisco 50.00

CG 134-46 Sub F

On 5/31 and 6/6/65 to CLAUDE
LIGHTFOOT for personal expenses,
including mother's funeral \$ 150.00

On 6/9-10/65 expenses for meals,
gifts and related items provided
to WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secre- 20.00
tary, CP of Canada

On 6/9/65 gifts for CPSU representa-
tive NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, carried
to Soviet Union by KASHTAN 15.00

On 6/13/65 cost of special shoes
ordered by and mailed to GUS HALL,
Yonkers, New York 51.00

On 6/17/65 transportation costs
for LIGHTFOOT to attend National
Negro Commission meeting, New York
City 50.00

On 6/17/65 Polaroid camera for HALL's
son as graduation gift 112.00

On 6/17/65 partial reimbursement
of fares for CG 6653-S and CG 5824-S*
on 18th Solo Mission 1,000.00

Total \$ 2,682.00

On 6/18/65 to LOU DISKIN for
books and Party literature to
be carried abroad to repre-
sentatives of the CPCZ and
SUPG 60.00

On 6/18/65 to JACK KLING, CP,
USA reserve fund depository
for use in CP investment in
bumper business by MAX
WEINSTEIN 8,108.00

On 6/23/65 to MAX WEINSTEIN for
use in bumper reprocessing busi-
ness 5,000.00

CG 134-46 Sub F

On 6/24/65 for hotel, meals,
and transportation in Chicago
for PEGGY DENNIS

\$ 24.00

On 6/24/65 for cost of books,
pens, refills, and miscellaneous
items and gadgets to be carried
to Soviet Union for CPSU by
PEGGY DENNIS

78.00

On 6/24/65 to PEGGY DENNIS as
reserve fund to be carried by
her on trip to Soviet Union

400.00

On 6/25/65 to MAX WEINSTEIN for
use in connection with CP invest-
ment in bumper reprocessing
business

2,000.00

On 6/26/65 to MAX WEINSTEIN for
following:

Wages due and not paid during
period 1/1-6/20/65 \$ 759.55

For expenses incurred on
behalf of GUS HALL, 3/65,
in Chicago and in NYC April-
May, 1965, including air
fares, hotels, meals, etc. 365.45

Total

\$1,125.00

On 6/25-27/65 for cost of meals,
entertainment, and related items
connected with visit of PHIL and
CONNIE BART to Chicago

35.00

On 6/26/65 to MAX WEINSTEIN as
an advance of wages at rate of
\$150 per week for period 6/20-
8/14/65

1,200.00

6/28/65 to MAX WEINSTEIN for
fare and expenses connected with
business trip abroad for Party
on instructions of GUS HALL

1,500.00

CG 134-46 Sub F

On 6/29/65 for pens, refills,
and related gift items to be
carried by MAX WEINSTEIN for
representatives of CPCZ, HSWP,
and SUPG

\$ 37.00

Total

\$22,249.00

CP, USA Reserve Funds

On 6/18/65 to JACK KLING, CP, USA
reserve fund depository, for use
in connection with CP business
investments

\$ 4,892.00

Total

\$27,141.00

Balance of funds in possession of
CG 5824-S* as of June 30, 1965

Solo

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Mid-America National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois

\$32,000.00

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois

3,960.89

CP, USA Reserve Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois

40.00

Total

\$36,000.89

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637A)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

DATE: 7/2/65

5-Shaffer
BAUMGARDNER *MA*

ReNYlet 6/3/65.

The records of the NYO reflect the following transactions regarding SOLO funds during the month of June 1965:

CREDITS

6/1/65	On Hand	\$776,533.78
6/18/65	Returned by LENA SCHERER	4,000.00
6/23/65	Received	150,000.00
		<u>930,533.78</u>

DEBITS

6/2/65	To LENA SCHERER for CPUSA National Office Expenses	\$11,000.00
6/11/65	To GUS HALL for CP Youth Project (\$25,000) - Purchase of Business (\$5,000.) - CP National Office Expenses (\$10,000)	40,000.00
6/16/65	To LENA SCHERER for CPUSA Reserve Fund and CPUSA National Office Expenses	30,000.00

H

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
1 - NY 100-138861-Sub B (CPUSA-FUNDS, RESERVE FUNDS)(42)
1 - NY 100-134637A (41)

JDO:msb
(6)

REC-30

6 JUL 8 1965



65 JUL 14 1965 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637A

DEBITS (Cont.)

6/16/65	To ARNOLD JOHNSON for Expenses of CP Delegation to Puerto Rico	\$2,000.00	
6/25/65	To GUS HALL for A.I.M.S.	3,000.00	
6/29/65	To HELEN WINTERS for CP Delegations Abroad (\$3,000) and for Mailing Service (\$1,000)	4,000.00	90,000.00
	Balance		\$840,533.78

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JS*
FROM : C. F. Downing
SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: July 2, 1965 *wes*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 7/2/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time two messages, NR 654 GR 352 and NR 659 GR 195, were intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

JS
HS:dek
(8)

11
ENCLOSURE

REC-36

100-428091-4978

6 JUL 8 1965

[Signature]

65 JUL 14 1965 *File*

d

7/2/65

NR 654 GR 352

7/02/65

27646 89257 90238 52559 30911 82616 65784 34676 10193 62260
41952 87578 50890 15189 79621 98334 23981 02555 44813 49852
73371 35063 88251 75862 70387 13851 04818 08388 78893 27477
15837 77514 33793 00552 71393 99449 02109 20163 10674 33222
97874 84252 26635 58018 81011 01356 66272 00228 10530 99471
31898 35749 10704 27768 04375 42083 49222 87610 19774 01596
09040 84041 13391 70523 23767 59963 38643 46401 40727 92958
81278 90475 36953 44210 11976 35864 39782 60001 57974 66673
29895 98727 79925 83317 66275 13042 22206 28426 56976 37290
34172 22983 26549 23140 94908 91467 39905 84060 94804 84692
66386 24844 09751 45362 82906 25956 61912 51027 57285 01578
30798 92788 65999 68834 28110 71229 01374 26146 66584 14180
10971 21366 37924 69228 85119 69225 15435 66688 77849 56424
84090 32911 22067 89379 63555 45310 67973 26549 37832 35448
68034 22791 92861 72221 74846 79499 24127 81981 42589 11556
93514 00465 61309 46983 57782 42153 29716 35481 60491 09132
48711 27049 91743 55813 28913 94368 19300 67602 63055 42039
35164 66325 33500 14295 43170 33903 73180 28704 41137 21200
48513 97090 40636 30092 79316 69735 00020 04592 79721 13230
21977 18523 54855 49859 25624 32881 13715 02312 31056 98374
66117 36794 58667 89904 60624 92369 34147 46561 15863 12580
54284 06083 86433 21752 37268 16982 17331 08039 96497 40830
42870 41619 32862 07793 45191 44507 09077 18727 67422 28542
13028 00450 82483 62249 42824 88203 58649 36391 92026 21927

PAPER PATENTED BY M.C.R. CO., PRINTED BY DATAFOLD FORMS, INC., N.C. 800

ENCLOSURE

100-428091 4978

52130 26802 85304 38918 92271 19913 82308 39018 20652 58256
67094 05577 04155 91290 20417 28816 35688 92543 64349 91411
89402 90585 16636 43455 88927 23087 19506 51576 80391 71973
21194 32690 00661 03830 46991 10530 55989 60860 29016 52489
69758 94309 46424 21244 48539 60571 92983 58953 75952 74367
68823 48218 32264 37657 31722 13820 53484 43875 45573 35650
51438 95332 70477 66248 75704 71101 21305 27778 14915 01256
50095 16770 29509 19007 31112 60936 01932 81384 60703 80687
94661 32270 72214 64925 47575 80580 06287 72441 19702 74188
63100 07808 70129 51254 57477 95168 98018 61470 01334 53846
60298 65760 09632 96582 40417 24674 61685 87719 35106 45452
50560 75416

DAS INC. NCI 810

TO BOXER REFEREE, REEF LANE REFEREE SENDS TO YOU FOLLOWING INVITATION. DEAR COMRADES, SINCE IN LANDS COMING TO CONGRESS, THAT IS TO START WORKING IN REEF ON JULY #10#, THERE ARE BIRDS FROM DIFFERENT LANES, THERE IS IN OUR OPINION EXCELLENT POSSIBILITY TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATION OF OUR LANES. THIS IS WHY OUR LANE WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE TO CONVENE IN REEF ON JULY #6#-#7# JOINT KEN OF DIFFERENT LANES COUSINS TO DISCUSS OUR LANES WORK IN DEFENCE OF PEACE. WE HOPE TO BE INFORMED WITHOUT DELAY WHO WILL TAKE PART IN THIS KEN AS YOUR LANE COUSINS. WITH FRATERNAL GREETINGS WILLE PESSY, WILLE PESSY ON BEHALF OF REEF LANE REFEREE. COACH REFEREE FULLY SUPPORTS INITIATIVE OF REEF COMRADES AND CONSIDERS THAT THIS KEN IS VERY DESIRABLE. IN OUR OPINION CONGRESS HAS GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TAKING INTO ACCOUNT PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. IT HAS CAUSE ACTIVE ACTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AGAINST US, AGGRESSION IN VIET-NAM AND OTHER AREAS, INIFICATION OF EFFORTS OF DIFFERENT MOVEMENTS, SPREADING IN MANY COUNTRIES. IMPORTANT TASK OF CONGRESS TO PROMOTE CONSOLIDATION OF UNITY OF ACTIONS OF PEACE MOVEMENT AND OF FORCES OF ANATION ALL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA. EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS AMONG COMRADES WOULD HELP TO DISCUSS FRANKLY STATE OF AFFAIRS IN PEACE MOVEMENT, TO COORDINATE POSITIONS AND TO WORK OUT MAIN LINES OF OUR COUSINS ACTIONS AT CONGRESS. 198898

NR 659 GR 195

7/02/65

ED BY DATAFOLD FORMS, INC. INC. 810

93835 13356 61932 38554 83856 36916 85633 53563 02225 39949
30468 20396 03627 09367 96672 20322 95904 09299 17731 99525
99915 47314 91316 09406 51240 04597 21512 12834 33813 34238
56268 45548 52933 98722 44138 20011 87268 58429 02157 97493
51615 40864 33563 54941 99898 44111 04672 12609 79258 96184
14468 85907 73043 90109 62030 60904 01389 79216 77895 34100
65513 54321 29185 12114 01232 10470 91419 13243 41946 85191
86459 02797 98291 64758 55090 14296 37017 56130 12640 47470
06186 03718 29058 82433 66501 46680 26620 10114 24991 19347
78785 58579 35522 66371 14951 67628 64290 43759 59479 30685
90932 09647 14096 09581 24964 29651 16136 68021 58022 81495
39605 84050 96500 77957 63971 07053 04967 75835 99977 15590
18027 81683 17239 84090 23944 03931 04829 82330 48770 69285
89679 51960 63678 81699 51285 42663 87129 78574 39755 85685

23857 99981 29718 15563 66257 80642 10792 73689 10876 15924
19827 45219 20961 24178 58315 28716 01456 22404 14187 04303
00879 29068 61252 15826 76527 75112 30404 20418 59321 94286
00460 17700 97828 76276 22882 53559 75655 79906 52912 16334
61496 44435 27666 20443 35352 44385 90831 21543 45282 40099
59584 73493 43349 63809 42205

TO BIRCH. #1#. AS WE ALREADY INFORMED YOU YOUR PROPOSAL TO OR
GANIZE BOYCOTT OF COVE GOODS HAS SENT BY JUST LANCES REFEREES
IN DOCK, DOCK, HAMLET, HAMLET, VILLAGE, VILLAGE, VAL, VAL A
ND IN URUGUAY, URUGUAY. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED THEIR REPLIES
EXCEPT FROM VAL. THESE REPLIES ARE ONLY PRELIMINARY, BECA
USE, AS THEY SAY, THIS PROPOSAL WILL BE STUDIED FURTHER. WHEN
IT IS INFORMED ABOUT REPLIES IN DETAIL. IT IS HIS INTENTION
THAT HE ^{IS} WAY TO ^O GIVE TO STAY IN DOCK, HAMLET AND VILLAGE IN ORDER
TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION WITH LANCES LEADERS PERSONALLY. IN CO
VE HE WILL INF

d
ARMY YOU IN DETAIL. #2#. WE AGREE WITH YOUR PROPOSAL ON A CORN.
OUR COUSIN IN INTERNATIONAL PREPERATORY TWINE IN REEF IS IN
STRUTZED TO ORGANIZE INVITATION TO A CORN FOR KEY. TRAVEL EXP
ENSES WILL BE REIMBURSED..

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 7/2/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

BALINGARDNER

5- [Signature]

On 7/2/65, there were received from the Soviets, via radio, the following ciphered - coded messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

1. "To GUS HALL

"As we already informed you your proposal to organize boycott of United States goods was sent by us to Communist Parties Central Committee in Rome, Paris, London, Argentina and in Uruguay. We have just received their replies except from Argentina. These replies are only preliminary because, as they say, this proposal will be studied further. ROBERT THOMPSON is informed about replies in detail. It is his intention on his way to United States to stay in Rome, Paris and London in order to discuss this question with CP leaders personally. In United States he will inform you in detail."

Regarding above, see NY airtels 6/10/65, 4/19/65, 4/16/65 and 4/8/65.

1 - BUREAU (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931 Sub C (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd
 (8)

REC- 57100-428091-4979

6 JUL 9 1965

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUL 12 1965

NY 100-134637

2. "We agree with your proposal on HERB APTHEKER. Our delegate in International Preparatory Committee in Helsinki is instructed to organize invitation to HERBERT APTHEKER for conference. Travel expenses will be reimbursed."

Regarding above, see NY airtel 6/24/65.

3. "To CPUSA Central Committee

"Helsinki CP Central Committee sends to you following invitation.

"Dear Comrades,

"Since in delegations coming to congress that is to start working in Helsinki on July 10, there are CP members from different CPs, there is in our opinion excellent possibility to strengthen cooperation of our CPs. This is why our CP would like to propose to convene in Helsinki on July 6-7 joint conference of different CPs, delegates, to discuss our CPs work in defense of peace. We hope to be informed without delay who will take part in this conference as your CP delegates.

"With fraternal greetings

Wille Pessy
On behalf of Helsinki
CP Central Committee'

"--CPSU Central Committee fully supports initiative of Helsinki comrades and considers that this conference is very desirable. In our opinion Congress has great significance taking into account present international situation. It may cause active action of international community against us (U.S.?) aggression in Viet-Nam and other areas, unification of efforts of different movements spreading in many countries. Important task of Congress--to promote consolidation of unity of actions of peace movement and of forces of national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Exchange of opinions among comrades would help to discuss frankly state of affairs in peace movement, to coordinate positions and to work out main lines of our delegates' actions at Congress."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Wes*

DATE: July 7, 1965 *Wes*

FROM : C. F. Downing *Wes*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C *Wes*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 7/7/65, transmissions were intercepted by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- H*
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
 - 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
 - 1 - Mr. Downing
 - 1 - Mr. Newpher
 - 1 - Mr. Paddock

7/8
HS:dek
(7)
Wes

REC-21

6 JUL 12 1965

EX-107

65 JUL 14 1965
Fin

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub F)

7/13/65

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Shaw

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 6/30/65 setting forth a monthly accounting of all receipts and disbursements of Solo and Communist Party, USA, Reserve Funds in the possession of CG 5824-S*.

It is noted on page 4 of relet that CG 5824-S* on 6/17/65 took \$1,000 from Solo funds as partial reimbursement of fares for himself and CG 6653-S on the 18th Solo Mission.

In your accounting of funds spent by CG 5824-S* during the course of the 18th Solo Mission, your office must make certain that the \$1,000 taken from Solo funds by CG 5824-S* is deducted from the expenses incurred by informant during Solo Mission 18. Any funds advanced to CG 5824-S* which were not utilized by the informant are to be promptly returned to the confidential fund of your office.

WGS:pah

(5)

NOTE:

On 2/10/65, CG 5824-S* was advanced \$3,375 to cover first class air travel abroad and return, plus meals, hotels, excess baggage and other incidental expenses in connection with the 18th Solo Mission. In addition, informant was furnished the sum of \$2,250 to cover six weeks' payments for services. Chicago will make an accounting of funds spent by CG 5824-S* on Solo Mission 18, and the fact that CG 5824-S* took \$1,000 from Solo funds as reimbursement for fares of himself and CG 6653-S is being brought to the attention of Chicago office.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC-24
EX-113

MAILED 8
JUL 12 1965
COMM-FBI

6 JUL 13 1965

65 JUL 14 1965

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 9, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

My memorandum of 6/8/65 set forth in detail receipts and disbursements of funds from the Soviet Union and Red China by the Communist Party, USA, during May, 1965. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds together with receipts and disbursements during June, 1965.

SUMMARY:

Total received from the Soviet Union 9/58 to 6/30/65.....	\$2,907,463.00
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 6/30/65.....	50,000.00
Grand Total received 9/58 to 6/30/65.....	2,957,463.00
Total disbursements to 6/30/65.....	2,080,968.33
Balance of Fund 6/20/65.....	\$ 876,494.67*

\$840,533.78 maintained by NY 694-S in New York City.
35,960.89 maintained by CG 5824-S* in Chicago.

DETAILS:

Total received from Soviet Union 9/58 to 5/31/65.....	\$2,757,463.00
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 5/31/65.....	50,000.00
Grand Total received 9/58 to 5/31/65.....	2,807,463.00
Total disbursements to 5/31/65.....	1,972,719.33
Balance of Fund 5/31/65.....	\$ 834,743.67

Receipts during June, 1965.....\$ 154,000.00**

***\$150,000 received by NY 694-S* in New York City on 6/23/65 from Nikolai Talanov, Soviet Mission to the United Nations; \$4,000 returned by Lena Scherer, Reserve Fund official of the Communist Party, USA.

DISBURSEMENTS DURING JUNE, 1965:

6/2/65 - To Lena Scherer for expenses of the Party's national office.....\$ 11,000.00

100-428091

REC-40

CONTINUED--OVER

6 JUL 14 1965

WGS:pah

FIVE

65 JUL 20

7-12-65 dpm

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: SOLO
100-428091

6/11/65 - To Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, for youth project (\$25,000); for Party controlled business (\$5,000); and for expenses of Party's national office (\$10,000).....\$ 40,000.00

6/16/65 - To Lena Scherer for expenses of Party's national office and for Party's Reserve Fund.....\$ 30,000.00

6/16/65 - To Arnold Johnson, Party's Legislative Director, for expenses of Party delegation to Puerto Rico..\$ 2,000.00

6/25/65 - To Gus Hall for expenses of American Institute for Marxist Studies, a Party front organization.....\$ 3,000.00

6/29/65 - To CG 5824-S* as reimbursement for miscellaneous expenditure made in behalf of the Communist Party, USA (itemized in Chicago letter of 6/30/65).....\$ 22,249.00

6/29/65 - To Helen Winter, national Party functionary, for expenses of Party delegation abroad (\$3,000); and for expenses of Party's national office (\$1,000).\$ 4,000.00

TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS - JUNE, 1965.....\$112,249.00

BALANCE OF FUND - JUNE 20, 1965.....\$876,494.87

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information. An up-to-date accounting of Solo funds will be brought to your attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds are not to be disseminated.

WJ *gms*
S *D*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *RC*
FROM : C. F. Downing

DATE: July 14, 1965 *WCS*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 7/14/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 789 GR 95, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- ~~1 - Mr. Belmont~~
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

REC 12

HS:dek

(g)

ENCLOSURE

6 JUL 19 1965

65 JUL 26 1965

7/14/65

NR 0289 GR 095

07/14/65

94209 05677 68810 48358 17774 48862 67558 00344 15704 63886
08626 72038 92634 44046 82266 24530 54252 24155 92462 88425
74032 55799 87881 84335 87704 68155 99976 91331 87901 60164
43664 47598 01887 55752 46989 57688 50356 41071 78341 31623
43398 47516 32262 05514 39196 52986 49570 86036 78931 61898
36817 27529 29096 77384 31736 97809 97551 89210 04776 91049
48509 13889 64107 35555 29182 07490 68941 24796 85660 17243
89182 01556 97767 33893 71152 12439 05220 23898 34421 31233
41370 17250 21984 59594 66965 64418 24333 37977 23600 91586
44122 25003 29950 64999 51877

NOV 810

AS YOU KNOW VINE LAMB TWINE DECIDED TO POST ^RONE LAMB UNTIL #1966#
PLACE AND TIME OF NEXT LAMB WILL BE DEFINED BY TWINE AT NEXT K
EN. IN ACCORDANCE WITH FORMER REQUEST FROM COVE LAMB TWINE
HMS IS READY TO MEET IN NEST IN JULY IF TEEN MEMBERS OF COVE LA
MB LAFD AND SPUTNIK SPUTNIK IS READY TO ACCEPT #250# PER
SONS AS TOURISTS ON CONDITIONS THAT ARE KNOWN IN COVE SSSS

100-428091-4983
ENCLOSURE

REG-3
 ROUTE ENVELOPE

Date: 7/12/65

Transmit the following in _____
 (Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
 (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 7/12/65, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets, through the secondary channel, ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, several partially coded messages on microfilm, the plain texts of which are as follows:

1. "Most Urgent - Expedite. Komsomol - Reshetov

"We are assuming that it is definite that the World Youth Festival has been cancelled for the period of one year according to newspaper and radio reports which we hear in USA. As you know by now, many World Youth Festival delegates have been stranded both in Europe and in the USA. This is a situation which is most serious with us these days. We will try to cope with it as best we can. We expected to hear from you today but did not. However, we want to raise with you a most urgent CPUSA youth problem which is of serious concern to us as a result of World Youth Festival cancellation. We refer to your original invitation which was made to a delegation of 15 delegates

- 1/13/65 1-810MS
 3 - BUREAU (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931 Sub C (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mfd
 (8)

REG-12

100-428091-4984
 6 JUL 19 1965Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUL 26 1965

NY 100-134637

visit

"to you as guests of USSR after having attended the World Youth Festival under your sponsorship. We respectfully request that this invitation still be extended since these same youth delegates have expressed a desire and willingness to go for a visit to the USSR as originally proposed. This is the first time that such a leading group of youth activists who are most active in the civil rights movement and in the students' struggle have expressed a willingness to go to the USSR. Regardless of the cancellation of the World Youth Festival, we must take this opportunity and offset some of the negative effect of the World Youth Festival cancellation. Therefore, we propose and ask you to accept the following:

"The U.S. World Youth Festival Committee pay their fares from New York to Paris and that you undertake the expenses from Paris to Moscow and from Moscow back to New York, to which this delegation will return via GDR (East Germany). We must have your radio answer on this by this Wednesday, July 14th. Would you contact East German youth for us so that they will accept this same delegation as guests of East German Republic for two or three days visit on their way home to USA. This youth delegation will leave Paris for Moscow on July 28th.

"Again your immediate reply by Wednesday, July 14th.

"GUS HALL"

2. "Urgent - CCCPSU.

"Regardless of World Youth Festival cancellation, our Party youth delegation of 7 will arrive in Moscow on August 8. Itinerary and schedule will be furnished you later.

"Did Jean Schermer receive a visa from your Helsinki Embassy for Moscow? Strongly suggest upon arrival in Moscow, she be given some rest prior to arrival of activists delegation.

"GUS HALL"

3. "When Herbert Aptheker is ready to leave Moscow he would like to go to Sofia for a week's vacation commencing September 15 and then to Prague for week's vacation commencing September 22.

NY 100-134637

"While the main purpose of his travel is vacation, he will be willing to deliver a couple of lectures in each of these places. Could you please help him get in touch with our Bulgarian comrades in order that he can arrange his visit to Sofia.

7. 1. 1947 "GUS HALL"

4. ~~"Ernest Koski"~~ business manager of Toymies Esteenpain, Finnish party paper in Superior, Wisconsin, and wife, are now in Helsinki at peace conference. They desire to go to Soviet Union. They do not want anything but should be treated as comrades and not ordinary tourists.

"GUS HALL"

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 7/14/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 7/14/65, there was received from the Soviets, via radio, a ciphered message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"As you know, international Youth Festival Committee decided to postpone youth festival until 1966. Place and time of next youth festival will be defined by committee at next conference. In accordance with former request from United States Youth Festival Committee, Komsomol is ready to meet in U.S.S.R. in July, 15 members of United States Youth Festival delegation, and 'sputnik' is ready to accept 250 persons as tourists on conditions that are known in United States."

Regarding above, see NY airtel, 7/12/65, reflecting that the Soviets were requested to permit a delegation of 15 delegates, who were to have gone to the Algiers Youth Festival, to go to Moscow as guests of the USSR.

Referenced airtel further reflects that the CPUSA youth delegation to the Algiers Conference would arrive in Moscow on August 8, 1965.

1-81382 1-Per 910 RD
 3 - BUREAU (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC 12

100-428091-4985

ACB:mfd (#41)
 (7)

JUL 19 1965

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUL 26 1965

Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-134637

NY 694-S* advises that he does not know what the significance of the part of the message is which states, "Sputnik is ready to accept 250 persons as tourists on conditions that are known in United States." He states that it is his opinion however that this is intended to mean that whoever would like to go to Moscow at this time will be permitted to do so provided they pay their own travel expenses to Moscow and provided further that the number of such individuals does not exceed 250.

Interested offices are being advised by separate communication regarding the delegations that will go to Moscow.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 7/16/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 7/16/65, there was received from the Soviets via radio a ciphered-partially coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Please inform GUS HALL that members of his family are invited, as we said it before through MORRIS CHILDS and other comrades. In particular, as Central Committee guests without any connection with any number of CP members that already visited, or will visit USSR that are not included in number of 20 comrades invited for rest this year. We would like to repeat once more our invitation to all members of GUS HALL's family. We will be glad to see GUS HALL, his wife and his children in USSR, at any time convenient for them. As far as so-called quota is concerned, we informed you early this year that in 1965 we reserved 20 places for rest to our United States friends. We define the number of places for rest for each CP in order to plan in advance our work and work of sanatoriums and houses of rest. This is established routine for many years. Certainly if our friends have special need to send number of CP members additionally, we may always come to agreement in each case. But we like only to be informed in advance on all such cases."

REC 48 100-428091-4986

Re above, see NY airtel 7/9/65, pages 4, 5 and 6.

- 100-428091-4986
 3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub B)(NIKOLAI M. TALANOV)(341)
 1 - New York

ACB:msb

(8)

Approved: FWO Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JUL 19 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: July 16, 1965

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 7/16/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 355 GR 252, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

RMH:dek

(8)

ENCLOSURE

REC-21

6 JUL 20 1965

EX. - 107

65 JUL 22 1965

7/16/65

NR 355 GR 252

7/16/65

73113 77071 61963 94940 65355 07190 67470 03224 84461 09353
84296 86469 24702 59501 22852 46295 66706 56035 56087 98159
72274 65019 50983 73869 60602 98067 42491 72793 25497 17427
97040 11969 42604 58352 29945 41152 60677 16580 13270 57220
90796 04030 18031 65077 99804 84936 38162 49650 39931 33139
19183 02761 83065 74670 05218 96420 69850 01864 42515 93091
81501 69996 43072 46608 67300 67084 61763 61008 32606 86610
33469 28152 08558 51835 86101 82269 58780 32471 49808 97448
26953 41884 08297 20248 06010 68978 17639 00506 52175 52832
04075 39457 38970 35748 90575 35587 88174 54735 83310 87052
92398 42059 03790 75758 54384 09934 92710 22350 06780 94140
69510 13918 29498 53277 03629 29083 14251 61168 73063 00489
75675 93436 49796 91721 59053 34726 07698 82374 95092 03143
77222 90509 01971 64565 20197 66440 81465 03875 74547 61153
47412 87941 01343 14747 63762 23920 86176 61797 92622 07331
09814 38026 27822 32902 48247 82321 29312 03037 65915 81650
10623 89411 80069 40406 91359 98046 50109 51102 86957 84375
89847 96553 95747 78594 61768 64343 86378 10727 84689 55334
99220 04565 29641 58946 26783 76488 37862 38229 32670 26636
98168 66298 65543 81155 38803 02172 81159 74321 54260 29987
19718 42832 60386 09159 76098 96767 03663 56157 49225 00353
91672 56663 97991 91660 18332 87366 58412 56640 57430 72396
52117 28701 74783 57591 22668 69998 93687 26767 73813 29753
90988 36482 28092 36143 11696 88450 17997 19078 21309 56432

PAPER PATENTED BY N.C.E. CO. PRINTED BY DAVIDSON FORMS, INC. N.C. 810

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-4989

68758 47837 73094 70338 27661 59033 53299 44932 38784 21817

77773. 84185

PLEASE INFORM BIRCH THAT MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY ARE INVITED,
AS WE SAID IT BEFORE THROUGH HUB AND OTHER REXES IN PARTIC^HLA
R, AS REFERENCE GUESTS WITHOUT ANY CONNECTION WITH ^{AV}ANY ^UNUMBER
OF BIRDS THAT ALREADY VISITED OR WILL VISIT NEST, THEY ARE NO
T INCLUDED INTO NUMBER OF #20# REXES INVITED FOR SUN THIS YEA
R. WE ^{WO}COULD LIKE ^{TO}REPEAT ONCE MORE OUR INVITATION TO ALL ME
MBERS OF BIRCH'S FAMILY. WE WILL BE GLAD TO SEE BIRCH ^H1, HIS WI
FE AND HIS CHILDREN IN NEST AT ANY TIME ^OCONVENIENT FOR THEM.
AS ^AFOR ASSOC CALLED QUOTA ^CIS CONCERNED WE INFORMED YOU EARLY I
HIS YEAR ^ATHIS IN #1965# WE RESERVED TWENTY PLACES FOR SUN TO O
UR COVE FRIENDS. WE DEFINE THE NUMBER OF PLACES FOR SUN FROM E
ACH LAKE ^NIN ORDER TO PLAN IN ADVANCE OUR WORK AND WORK OF SANAT
ORIUMS AND HOUSES ^AOK REST, ^BTHIS IS ESTABLISHED ROUT ^TNE FOR
MAY ^NYEARS. CERTAINLY IF OUR FRIENDS HAVE SPECIAL NEED TO SEN
D ^SSOME NUMBER OF BIRDS ADDITIONALLY WE MAY ALWAYS COME TO AGR
EEMENT ^HIN EACH ^HCASE, BUT ^{WE}WOULD LIKE ONLY TO BE ^NFORME
D ^AIN ADVANCE ON ALL SUCH CASES.

PRINTED BY DATAFOLD FORMS, INC. NO. 810
BY N. C. B. CO.

ENCLOSURE 100-428091-4987

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____

TO : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *B6*

DATE: July 9, 1965

FROM : Mr. W. G. Shaw *WGS*

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

HARRIS
ISI
D.J. Brown
5-Bureau
R. W. Smith
Jeffing
Ward

This memorandum outlines the material developed during Solo Mission 18 and will assist in locating pertinent data within the Solo file.

DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION

AIRTEL

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Reimbursed by "World Marxist Review" re mailing...	5/13/65	4858
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CONGO (Brazzaville).....	5/12/65	4840
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100-428091

WGS:pah
(3)

EX-107
CONTINUED--OVER

REC-21

6 JUL 20 1965

65 JUL 22 1965

Memorandum to Mr. F. J. Baumgardner
Re: SOLO
100-428091

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Inter-Party struggle..... 5/24/65 4904
International Department..... 5/18/65 4880
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EAST GERMANY
Emergency crossover from American Sector..... 5/19/65 4883
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HALL, GUS

Desires invitation to USSR for family..... 5/27/65 4920
Possible visit to Mexico..... 5/13/65 4855
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 Re: SOLO
 100-428091

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ACTION:

None. File for record purposes..

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 7/13/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies and for New York one copy of an informant's statement captioned, "Instructions From Gus Hall on Matters to be Handled Abroad with Representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Other Parties."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was furnished on 7/10 and 12/65 by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN.

REC 44 100 - 428091 - 4989

JUL 22 1965

3-Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
2-Chicago
(1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-67

RWH:MDW
(6)

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 AUG 6

INSTRUCTIONS FROM GUS HALL ON MATTERS TO
BE HANDLED ABROAD WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
AND OTHER PARTIES

On July 8, 1965, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), raised the following matters and requested that they be taken up with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) or some other Parties abroad:

Ernest Koski, Business Manager of "Tyomies Esteenpain", Finnish language Party paper published in Superior, Wisconsin, and his wife are now in Helsinki, Finland, attending the World Peace Conference and when that is concluded would like to go to the Soviet Union. The Russians should be advised that Koski and his wife do not want anything from them but that they should be treated as more than ordinary tourists.

Herbert Aptheker, who is also now at the World Peace Conference at Helsinki, is going to the Soviet Union for a vacation after the meeting concludes. After this he wants to spend a week's vacation commencing September 15, 1965, in Sofia, Bulgaria, and a week's vacation in Prague, Czechoslovakia, commencing September 22, 1965. The Parties in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia should be advised that Aptheker is willing to deliver a couple of lectures in both places but that the prime reason for his travel is for a vacation.

Hall also raised the matter of the Polish stallions which the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) had reportedly agreed to ship to the United States. According to Hall, they had agreed to shipment by September but not one word on this matter has been received from them. According to Hall, one of his brother's very good mares had died recently and now needs a replacement for her. Hall wants the Polish Party contacted to see what can be done on this matter.

In connection with the information regarding Koski and Aptheker, the following messages were drawn up and submitted for future transmission through Party channels:

"Central Committee
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

"When Herbert Aptheker is ready to leave Moscow, he would like to go to Sofia for a week's vacation commencing September 15th and then to Prague for a week's vacation commencing September 22nd. While the main purpose of his travel is vacation, he would be willing to deliver a couple of lectures in each of these places. Could you please help him get in touch with our Bulgarian comrades in order that he can arrange his visit to Sofia?"

"Central Committee
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

"Ernest Koski, Business Manager of Tyomies Esteenpain,
Finnish Party paper in Superior, Wisconsin, and wife are
now in Helsinki at peace conference. They desire to go
to the Soviet Union. They do not want anything but should
be treated as comrades and not ordinary tourists."

In connection with communication with the PUWP,
efforts will be made in the near future to attempt to transmit
a message concerning the horses through a representative at
the Polish Consulate in Chicago, Illinois.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Jue*

DATE: July 21, 1965

FROM : *10* C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 7/21/65, transmissions were intercepted by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

McDaniel
G- *Shaw*

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS
HS:mmg
(7)

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED

10 JUL 23 1965

65 JUL 27 1965 *F-10*

SEVEN

REC-1